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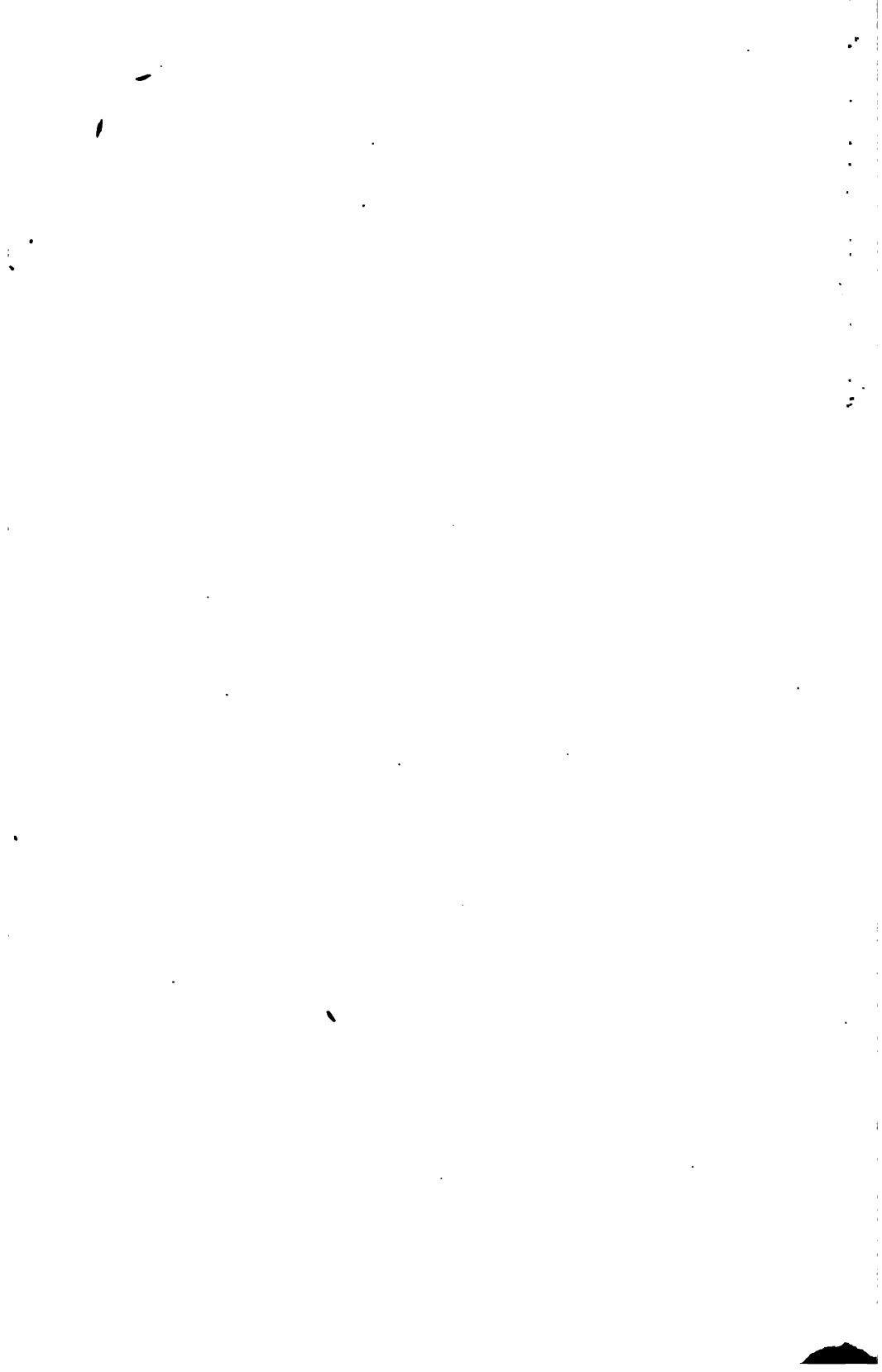
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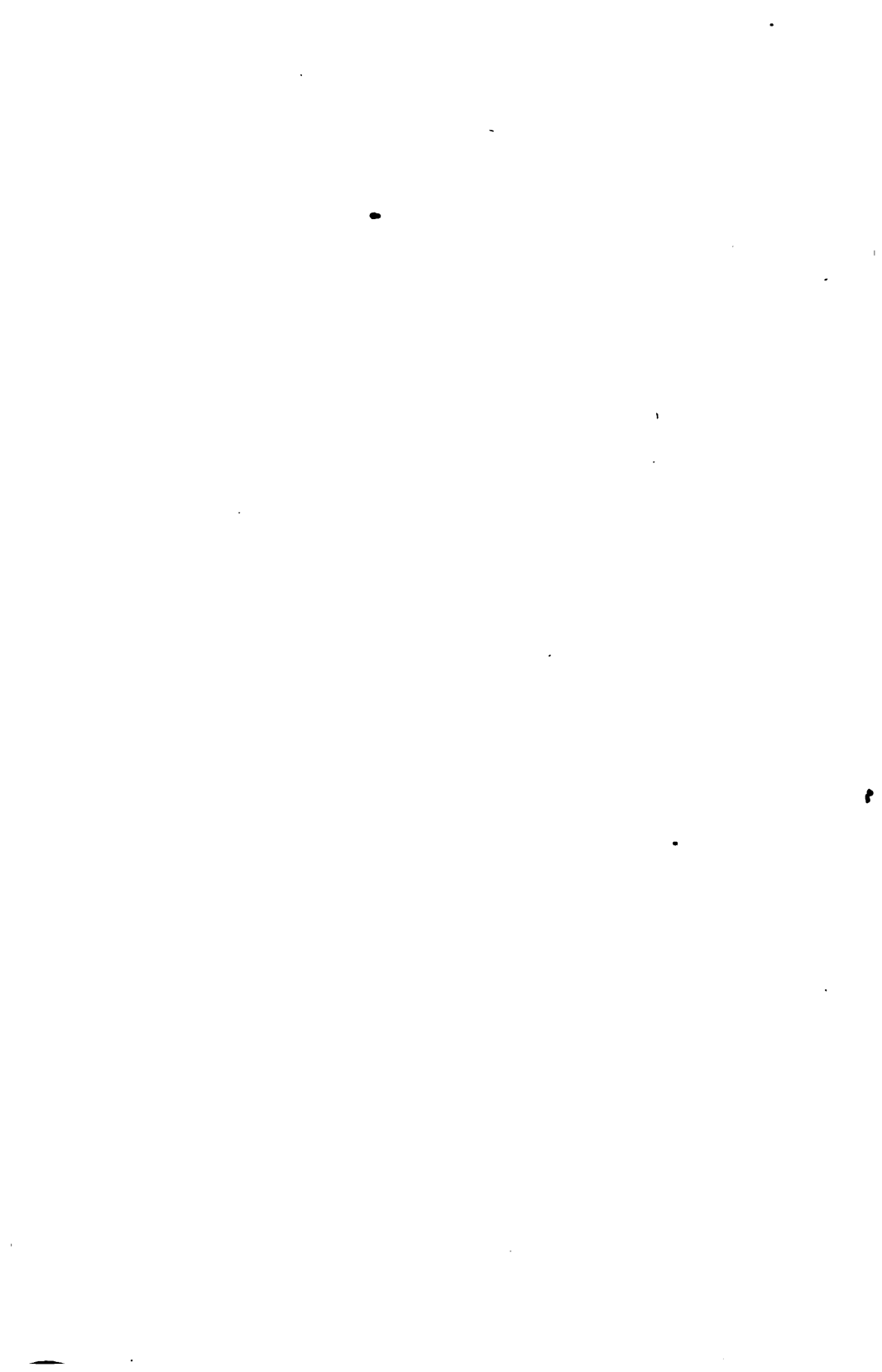
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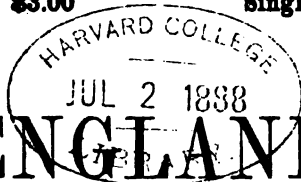
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Political Science Club.

Philosophical Club.

**Address at the Anniversary of the Yale Divinity School, May 16th, 1888, by
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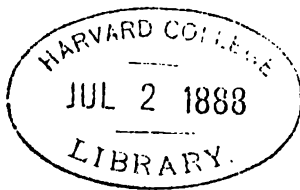
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NEW ENGLANDER

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YALE REVIEW.

No. CCXX.

JULY, 1888.

ARTICLE I.—THE ECONOMICS OF SPECULATION.

To speculate is American. In no other country is speculation carried to such an extent as in ours. The sum total of our speculative trade presses close upon the aggregate of our national wealth. The practice of speculation is well nigh universal. We have professional speculators and amateur speculators. We speculate in produce, we speculate in land. We speculate in manufactures, in railways, in mines, in stocks and bonds, in gold, in iron, in live stock. We speculate in anything and everything. The rich speculate and the poor speculate. Saints speculate and sinners speculate. Not only bankers and brokers, but merchants, mechanics, lawyers, doctors, legislators, ministers of the Gospel, dry goods clerks, newsboys, and bootblacks, endeavor to multiply their legitimate earnings by some form of speculation. Even ladies who must earn their own livelihood are trying their skill in the way of speculation; and many a snug little fortune has been accumulated by the keen speculating instinct of women.

Of course the entire amount of the speculative trade throughout the country cannot be accurately estimated ; for its methods and forms are too complex to be easily traced. But a glance at the work of some of the principal centers of speculation is sufficient to show how enormously disproportionate is this element in our national commerce. The transactions of the Chicago Board of Trade amount to more than three billions of dollars in a single year ; of which more than seven-eighths are purely speculative. The speculative trades of the various Exchanges in New York are estimated at from four to five billions annually. These sums are however small in comparison with the deals of the Stock Exchange. Several years ago it was estimated that the par value of the annual sales in the New York Stock Exchange exceeds twenty-two billion dollars. The entire wealth of the country in 1880 was less than forty-four billion dollars, or less than double the sum involved in the transactions of this single Exchange.

The smaller cities have their Boards of Trade which do a business corresponding with their size and importance. The transactions of the Stock Exchange are repeated with small amounts in almost every broker's office in the land. In every community we find men trying to imitate with their limited resources the movements of the Bulls and Bears of Wall Street. These minor enterprises taken separately appear insignificant in comparison with the traffic at the great centres of speculation ; but the vast number of them taken together gives an aggregate which is by no means trifling.

It needs no argument to prove that this speculative element in our commerce, involving as it does such immense sums of money and extending so widely through all classes of society, exerts a controlling influence for the quickening or depression of trade, and becomes an important factor in the distribution of wealth. Plainly the economic effect of so much speculation must be either very good or very bad ; but whether it is good or whether it is bad is not so plain. Opinions differ very widely upon the subject. One class of economists declares that "Speculation is the soul of trade." Another class with equal confidence asserts that speculation is subversive of the interests of legitimate trade. A financial panic sweeps over

the land and many voices are heard denouncing speculators as the cause of the trouble. Other voices as many and as loud defend speculation and find the cause of the disturbance elsewhere. Yet in their disagreement all are agreed on one point. Every voice, whether raised in denunciation or defence, testifies to the extent of speculation and its important influence in every commercial movement. In these days of economic study and social agitation, when so much is said about the causes and cure of poverty, the unequal distribution of wealth, and kindred subjects, we naturally turn to the question of speculation expecting to find in it the key by which some of these other questions may be solved.

In his work on "Progress and Poverty" Mr. George says: "Production and consumption fail to meet and satisfy each other. How does this inability arise? It is evidently and by common consent the result of speculation. But of speculation in what? Certainly not of speculation in things which are the products of labor,—in agricultural or mineral productions, or manufactured goods; for the effect of speculation in such things, as is well shown in current treatises which spare me the necessity of illustration, is simply to equalize supply and demand, and to steady the interplay of production and consumption by an action analogous to that of a fly wheel in a machine. Therefore if speculation be the cause of these industrial depressions, it must be speculation in things not the production of labor, but yet necessary to the exertion of labor in the production of wealth—of things of fixed quantity; that is to say, it must be speculation in land."

This is the way in which the founder of the great Anti-Poverty Society disposes of the question of speculation and makes it pay tribute to his pet theory. His conclusion is at once illogical in itself and wholly inconsistent with observed facts. Speculation is speculation, wherever it appears, and its nature and effects are everywhere the same. The most casual study shows us that speculation in land is a mere peccadillo when compared with the other forms of speculation carried on in America. Moreover, even at the risk of seeming to contradict (for as we shall see later the contradiction is only apparent) that somewhat uncertain authority expressed in the

general title "current treatises," we assert that no form of speculation tends to equalize supply and demand, or to steady the interplay of production and consumption. Very far from it. *The whole tendency of speculation in anything is to disturb the equilibrium of trade, to hinder legitimate exchange, and to increase the inequality in the distribution of wealth.*

In our great metropolis we see "grinding poverty and fabulous wealth walk side by side." In the tenements and attics are huddled together multitudes of poor workers of every sort struggling night and day against starvation, not a few of them driven to lives of sin or a suicide's death by the power of despair. Close by them on the grand avenues we may meet men whose fortunes are almost incredible. The Vanderbilt property exceeds two hundred millions of dollars, and Jay Gould forgets whether he signed a cheque for five millions or fifty millions. What is the cause of this inequality? What has taken the money from the pockets of the many and swept it into the coffers of the few? I answer in a word—*Speculation.*

I do not mean to say that all the very rich or all the very poor are speculators; for that would be manifestly untrue. A. T. Stewart was not a speculator, yet at his death he was worth fifty million dollars. John Jacob Astor accumulated twenty millions, of which only a small portion was the fruit of speculation. The elder Vanderbilt amassed a fortune of from sixty to a hundred millions, much of it entirely independent of speculation. On the other hand very many of the poorest people have never meddled with speculation. There are other causes which must account for many individual cases of poverty and a few of the large fortunes in the land; but speculation is the underlying force which, more than any other, disturbs the natural laws and conditions of society and brings about such inequality of wealth where all should be comfortable and none should be overburdened with riches.

Doubtless Mr. George in the expression "current treatises," refers among others to the works of John Stuart Mill, who says, "The operations of speculative dealers are useful to the public when profitable to themselves; and though they are sometimes injurious to the public, by heightening the fluctua-

tions which their more usual office is to alleviate, yet whenever this happens, the speculators are the greatest losers." Similar statements may be found in the writings of other well known economists. With them I have no dispute; for their meaning is clear to one who reads their works, and the truthfulness of their conclusions is unquestioned. But they use the word speculation in a peculiar sense, quite different from that which Americans attach to it. In fact the meaning of the word has been undergoing a process of evolution during the past half century, so that what our fathers called speculation we should hardly recognize under that title. Some writers make a distinction between "legitimate" and "excessive" speculation; whereas all speculation in the modern sense is excessive.

We must carefully distinguish between the two different senses in which the word speculation is used. When Mr. Mill and economists of his class use the word, they apply it to transactions based upon the actual possession and exchange of the commodities involved. The man who buys up the surplus wheat crop this year that he may profit by the probable shortage next year is a speculator in this sense of the word. So also is the man who buys railroad or bank stocks and holds them till an increase in their value enables him to sell them at a good profit. Speculation in land belongs strictly to this same class, since it implies the actual buying and selling of land. I do not know that there is any form of speculation in land that does not imply a real transfer of ownership.

The form of speculation which prevails most extensively in our country to-day is wholly different from this. It consists in the transfer of paper contracts merely and has little or no foundation in actual exchange of commodities. It is in reality a form of gambling upon the chances of a rise or fall in the price of any commodity and is carried on without reference to real possession. Thousands of young men speculate in stocks who never have money enough at any time to purchase whole shares of any stock. Having scraped together a few dollars they invest in "margins," that is, they deposit with a broker enough money to cover the change in value of a few shares of stock within a limited range. If the stock falls to the limit within the time specified, the depositor loses his money. If

it rises, he wins the amount of increase. In either case he has not owned a single share of stock, and perhaps his broker has not. Similar to this are the methods of speculation in the various exchanges. While a few men really buy and sell wheat, the majority of speculators buy and sell promises. One man makes a contract with another to sell him a million bushels of wheat at a certain price and time. He neither owns nor intends to own any wheat; but when the time comes to fulfill his contract if the price of wheat has risen above the stipulated price he settles with the purchaser by paying the difference. If the price has fallen, the purchaser pays him the difference. By far the greater part of the speculation in our land consists in these fictitious or paper trades. For example, the entire cotton crop of the world available for American and European consumption is about seven million bales of four hundred and twenty-five pounds each in a year. The amount of cotton sold in the exchanges is over eighty million bales, having a value of five billion dollars. In this case the ratio of fictitious trades to the real is more than ten to one. When less than seventy million bushels of wheat are received at the New York Exchange, more than nine hundred millions are sold, giving about the same ratio as before. In the year 1882 the entire oil product of the country was twenty-four million barrels, and the amount sold in the Petroleum Exchanges was two billion barrels, showing a ratio of more than eighty dollars of fictitious trade to one dollar of real trade. The same process is repeated with iron and coal and various other extensive products of the country.

Now it does not require any unusual keenness of intellect to distinguish between these different uses of the term speculation. In the writings of the economists already referred to, the word signifies any form of trade involving unusual risks with the expectation of deriving unusual profits. In its modern sense, speculation implies the use of artificial methods to create trade and derive profits independent of the law of supply and demand. The former use of the word is fast becoming obsolete, and well it may, for it is equally indefinite and unsatisfactory. In view of the countless and varied risks in trade, who can say at precisely what point a risk becomes

unusual? Or who can define unusual profits? In our day and land no risk and no profit would be universally recognized as unusual. On the other hand, the use of the term to signify artificial methods of trade and gain is very definite and meets with universal acceptance. It will be seen that this latter definition covers all the speculative transactions described in the preceding pages; whereas the older definition could only be applied to transactions of a wholly different nature which differ from ordinary trade only in the amount of money involved, or in the commodities exchanged.

When Mr. Vanderbilt obtained control of the Harlem Railroad and by his skillful management raised the price of the stock from about twenty per cent. of the par value to over two hundred per cent., the profit derived was natural and legitimate. The increase in the price of stock indicated a corresponding rise in value brought about by the improved condition of the railroad. But when a similar change was produced in the price of other railroad stocks by the combination and manipulation of brokers, while the real value of the stocks remained unchanged, that was speculation. The profits derived represented no benefit conferred upon the public, but were the fruit of artifice and fraud. The man who buys a whole railroad at once is not necessarily a speculator any more than is the grocer who buys a dozen of eggs in the expectation of selling them again at a profit.

It is in its artificial nature that the evil of speculation consists, and whenever this artificial element enters into trade its effect is evil and only evil. It is not a question of legitimate and excessive speculation. Whether little or much, speculation is always injurious in proportion to its extent.

The paper contracts of the various Exchanges already mentioned, involving billions of dollars, imply an actual loss on one side and gain on the other of hundreds of millions. This enormous sum of money does not represent any benefit conferred upon the community, but is absorbed by the fortunate speculators without any return whatever, leaving the country at large so much poorer. Worse than this, real prices everywhere are largely determined, not by the natural law of supply and demand, but by the fictitious prices of speculators. Men

pay for bread, not what it costs to raise the wheat and manufacture and carry it to them, but what can be extorted from them by the tricks and combinations of Exchange gamblers. The variations in the prices of the different necessary commodities as reported in the Exchanges are felt most keenly by the poor laborers of the world. Every transaction of a speculative nature increases the cost of the commodity handled by the amount of profit made.

The commercial history of America abounds with illustrations of the way in which the prices of the most necessary articles are artificially raised and lowered when there has been no real inequality of supply and demand. Corners in wheat, gold, iron, and coal are of frequent occurrence. Thousands of poor people may be starving for want of bread while millions of bushels of wheat lie stored away in the elevators held to compel a rise in prices. And when the rise comes a few men are made rich by means of the injury they have inflicted upon society. All this is plainly evil.

Again, take the case of speculation in stocks. The man who actually buys a number of shares in some good railway and receives his dividends from the earnings of the road, however large those dividends may be, is deriving profits for which the work of the railroad is an adequate return to society. The benefit is approximately equal to all parties concerned. On the other hand, the man who invests in margins or in stocks and derives a profit from the rise in price which is wholly independent of the real value of the stocks, receives money for which he makes no return to society at large or to the individuals whose loss contributes to his gain. In all such transactions every dollar of gain represents a corresponding dollar of loss on the other side. The almost incredible fortunes that have been amassed in railroad speculation may be accurately measured by the losses of smaller speculators all over the land. Wall Street is the great financial maelstrom into whose vortex are sucked the wages of many thousands of productive laborers. The movements of that great stock market are analogous to the filling and squeezing of a sponge. The earnings of countless workers all over the land are drawn into speculative trade by the hope of suddenly acquired riches, and when it is well

filled the sponge is quietly squeezed into the pockets of the great speculators, leaving the vast majority of investors to mourn over their losses.

The effect of all speculation of this kind is to increase the inequality in the distribution of wealth, and to drive the extremes of society more widely apart than ever. By speculation as a rule the rich grow richer and the poor poorer. Since speculation depends for its success upon the artificial raising and lowering of prices, it is evident that the rich man who invests millions can exert a much greater influence upon the market than the poor man who invests but a few dollars. The clerk of moderate means who invests ten dollars in margins is wholly at the mercy of the market. He must gain or lose as others shall determine, while a rich neighbor who has bought the same stocks is comparatively independent. When the price of the stock is forced down, those who have expended their little surplus in margins lose all as soon as the fall reaches a given point; but one whose resources are far in advance of his investment can tide over the period of adverse fortune, and by holding his stock for a rise in prices may make a large profit in the end. It is this ceaseless crushing of small investors between their wheels that keeps the great speculators from ruining each other, and fills their pockets amid all the fluctuations of the market.

It is a principle recognized by all true economists that for every dollar which an individual receives from others, he should make an equivalent return. The speculator boldly sets this principle at defiance, and seeks to extort as many dollars as possible from his fellow-men without making any return. The result of speculation is the same as in the case of a lottery or in ordinary gambling; the few are enriched, the many are impoverished.

When we consider that this process is constantly going on, that more than five hundred million dollars are annually transferred from the pockets of producers to the pockets of non-producers by a method equivalent to gambling with loaded dice, can we wonder at the growing inequalities in our American society? Do we not see in this fact an easy and abundant explanation of some of the problems that meet the social

student of to-day? It must be evident to all that so long as speculation continues the equitable (not *equal*) distribution of wealth cannot be realized, the equilibrium of society cannot be maintained, the greatest evils of poverty cannot be wholly done away. Here is a centripetal force of the first magnitude ever working towards the centralization of wealth, and running counter to the fundamental principles of social economy. So long as the force continues in operation we may expect the results to continue. If we would remove the results, we must first try to remove the cause which produces them. It is a time therefore when every true economist should declare plainly against speculation. The line should be carefully drawn between speculative and legitimate trade, and the former should be ruled out of respectable business circles.

GEORGE H. HUBBARD.

ARTICLE II.—MISS FRANCES MERLEY.

Miss Frances Merley. A Novel. By JOHN ELLIOT CURRAN.
Cupples & Hurd, Boston. 1888.

It is, perhaps, futile to expect an agreement among writers of fiction as to the best type of a novel. The self-styled realists are vociferous in asserting their views. Theirs is the highest art, theirs is the ideal method. As an offset to these pretensions we have the sensational writers working on with amazing signs of life, and we see the stories of startling incident eagerly demanded. Then too we find that the weird and mystical story still possesses sufficient power to stir the modern practical imagination.

It is always interesting when a new work of fiction appears to see where the writer stands. What readers will he attract? With what class of work will he throw his influence? Occasionally as one turns the leaves of a new story, a book is found that does not belong to any conventional class. Such a book is "The Midge," by Mr. Bunner, and such a book is "Miss Frances Merley" now before us.

It evidently is not the belief of the author of this latter story that,

"The truest art is to leave nothing out
Likely to prove offensive."—

He does not, after the manner of the realists, feel constrained to choose for illustration only that which is mean and repulsive in human nature. Nor does he seek for sensational incidents or supernatural phenomenon. He undertakes the more difficult task of making a picture true to life, giving both light and shadow. And the natural simplicity of his work is most striking. The uneventful life of a country town is described in a sympathetic manner, and the villagers one meets there are pleasingly human. There is indeed about the book an atmosphere of reality which awakens and finally absorbs the attention of the reader until the end is reached, and, thus, it has

the first qualification of a novel ; it is interesting. The most casual reader will admit that he has found genuine entertainment.

But there are many reasons why this story will find its way to a deserved success. It is excellent as a literary work. The mind of the reader is kept constantly on the alert, and in a gratified state by the thoughtfulness, the suggestiveness, and the gracefulness of the writing—and this is preëminently true of the first half of the book. The descriptions of simple scenes are extremely pleasing, and the unconventional way in which the author states his background of facts is always attractive. As for example, at the beginning of a chapter describing a day of skating he says :

“ In the latitude of Marshton it was not often that skating was to be had on Thanksgiving Day. I know a climate, farther north, where we boys used to be sure of both ice and snow-fall before that first holiday of the cold season ; and the only question was whether it was the ice or the snow that was to get the upper hand and give us our out-of-door festivity. But at Marshton Thanksgiving was usually a cheerless day, when the “ going ” was bad, and people cared little to be out of doors. This year, however, there had been sharp frost for two or three days. At night the ground was covered with the frost gems that mimicked the starlit sky ; and in the mornings the mist hung over the valleys, and the herbage was a silver-gray, the fields over. At noon the sun thawed the edges of the stiff mud ridges in the roads ; but at sundown they hardened again, and the frost sank deeper day by day in the ground ; and what was more to the point, by Thanksgiving morning, there was skating on the mill-pond. All the boys in town knew that before breakfast.”

The descriptions of nature are graceful and accurate. The writer speaks of the woods as they appear to one who frequents and loves them, and of winter scenes as one who revels in them. What could be truer to life than this picture ?

“ On either side of the field itself only the top rails of the fences and the heads of the posts showed above the snow ; and here and there a drift had surmounted the whole structure and buried it from sight. In other spots the drifted snow, curving and curling about the fences, had been cut by the wind and hollowed into the graceful form of a plough-share. Beyond the house the highway was so much depressed as to be invisible from where they stood ; but off to the left there clustered the village, with an occasional moving figure or team to be seen, black against the white street. Beyond the highway and beyond the village

the fenced fields rose again and retreated, and still retreated,—ever narrowing up the distant slope, with their spots of farmhouses and out-buildings and haystacks,—up to still higher ground where the woods began and where the tree-tops formed at last the minutely serrated horizon. All this opposite hillside seemed to be asleep for the winter, except for the little wisps of smoke that floated off from a chimney or two and lazily hung in the air,—interposing patches of bluish film against the landscape. Scarcely a sound was heard. Just at hand there was deep stillness ; only from the village could be faintly heard the occasional shout of a boy at play, or the momentary jingle of a sleigh-bell."

There are indoor scenes no less pleasing. Frances and her uncle, of whom we shall hear further, are seated in his library, where they have come for a serious talk, and we read :

"They both sat in silence for some time. Finally, as a couple of logs broke with a crash, and a shower of sparks shot up, and a fresh blaze brightened the room and outshone the lamp, so that the shadows of the furniture went a-jigging on the wall, the mantel-piece danced crazily on the ceiling, the brasses of the fender sparkled, and even the gilt of the book-bindings in the bookcases became bright,—then Luther turned to his niece."

These are but haphazard instances of what any reader will constantly come upon. And the expectation that they are before him adds much zest to the reading.

Now and then, too, we meet some humorous description which is so simple and natural that it touches a responsive chord in the reader's experience. Witness this vision of the silence at Mrs. Wormsley's table :

"Mrs. Wormsley herself was not a conversationalist. She, a somewhat shrivelled and unprepossessing woman, presided at her table with a watchful eye, which, secure behind her spectacles (through which it was impossible to trace the movement of her optics without a very rude and long-continued gaze), only observed from day to day, with precision, how much it took to satisfy her boarders' appetites ; being enabled thus to calculate her daily marketing to a nicety. There was money in that ; and that was what Mrs. Wormsley kept boarders for ;—at least, it was a sin to waste money. Everybody at her table speedily became impressed with that fact ; and the seriousness of it, and the consciousness that they were ever being gauged as to their appetites seemed to keep them sombre and dull, as if they were in a treadmill and under a hard surveillance."

And this picture of Newcomb :

"Then there was Newcomb, who was the agent at the railroad station. What Newcomb did not know about the coming and going of the people of Marsha-ton—where they went, why they went, and when they were coming back—was not worth knowing. He acquired some insight into their affairs, also, by the careful consideration of such telegrams as he received and sent for them. But Newcomb was not talkative. He kept his mouth shut, and followed the ways of the Marsha-ton folk with his eyes and ears only. Fortunately, he had no wife to wring these secrets from his bosom and start them in circulation through the town ; else the whole population might have been set by the ears. Only on infrequent occasions, when, being in company, he heard assertions which were so far wide of the truth as to seem to him an affront to his special knowledge, would this reticent man suddenly explode and indignantly deny the statement, abuse the astonished gossip for uttering such stuff, and then proceed to state the matter as he knew it,—briefly, authoritatively and finally ; so that, whether he was doubted or not, he was never directly contradicted."

While a captious critic may discover here and there slight faults in the language and style of *Miss Frances Merley* ; and may contend that, throughout, there is not the same evenness of writing, we believe it is not too much to say that the grace of the writing will secure for the book an individual place among works of real literary merit. This style can only be appreciated by a reading of the story, for it eludes analysis. Its individuality is largely in the phraseology, in the absence of bluntness, and in the pleasing fancifulness with which unimportant events of ordinary life are described.

But the strength of the book does not consist in its gracefulness of style. The author has keen insight into character. The skill with which he discloses the real affection underlying manly undemonstrativeness is remarkable. His love scenes are tender and true, and are praiseworthy for their freedom from sentimentalism and worse faults. And the scenes calling for pathos and power are outlined with much dignity. There is one scene in particular which is admirable. Frances' husband, Archie Hiller, is lying dead. Their "little world of wedded life, with all its pleasures and hopes and all its gradually discovered defects, was past." Her uncle had bitterly opposed her marriage, and since its occurrence had been estranged from her. Archie whom he had disliked had been unsuccessful.

There had been no reconciliation. Frances is alone with her husband.

"The little space of the apartment that was not taken up with the bed and stove and other furniture was scarcely more than large enough to receive its unusual holding,—the silent form that lay stretched on its bier.

She sat alone. It was all silence, dead silence,—except for the occasional rattle of a wagon on the pavement outside. Not even a sob broke the stillness of the interior. She sat there, in the same paralysis of her emotional faculties that had held her since her husband's last breath. Not a tear had dimmed her eye. She had gone about her usual household offices, and these special ones that death had brought, with the carefulest womanly attention. Her power of emotion seemed to be suspended.

She was sitting now, on an ottoman, looking vacantly before her, her head leaning on her hand,—in an attitude of one taking a momentary rest. Yet she had been sitting thus for an hour. She did not know it.

There came a knock at the door. In the hush it sounded loud, and startled her. She arose. The door opened, and Uncle Luther stepped with bared head across the threshold.

She looked at him a moment. Then, as quick as thought, she dashed in between him and the lifeless form, and stood there facing him, with her eyes flashing fire, her fingers clinched, and her chest heaving,—as if she would have defended the form on the pall against him; a tigress could not have been fiercer before her young.

Luther stood regarding her,—a look of utter helplessness on his strong face. So they remained, moment after moment, moment after moment; the excitement of the woman subsiding little by little, little by little. At last she could speak. Still standing defiant, she said hoarsely, "He is dead, sir."

The old gentleman's lips moved. "Frances! Frances!" he cried, in a broken tone of anguish; and he advanced with a hasty, impulsive movement, and clasped the desolate woman in his arms in a passionate embrace; and there, his head bowed down over hers, he cried, audibly and convulsively, like a child,—tears of remorse and pity over one whom he had been harsh to, over one whom the world, nay Death, had come in and struck after he had struck her, and harder than he had; as if his initial blow had invited attack upon her from every hostile force; as if he had led the way, he, the strong man!—and yet he had loved her all the time. Oh, the bitter sorrow! She clung tightly to him. They said not a word."

The real interest of the story of course centers in the character of Frances. She is eighteen, when first introduced to the reader—an orphan, with ample means to live a comfortable and conventional life. This she will not do. She is restless,

aspiring, independent, coquettish, and human. She does not take her life as it comes but must do something to form it. Her energy first finds vent in a harmless meeting with Archie Hiller—a young teacher at Marshton. By gradual stages she ventures to assume control of Archie's destiny. Perceiving his amiability, and neglecting to take into account his superficiality, she learns to love him. Her uncle has Archie removed from his school, and by opposition forces Frances to action. She refuses to forego her lover; she will not have the reflection cast upon him that he is living on her fortune. And quietly defying her uncle, she marries Archie and determines to work out with him their mutual success. Together they go to New York and Archie attempts to get on as a lawyer's clerk. His struggles, his careless good humor, his miserable success are told most picturesquely. And Frances' devoted strivings to increase the mutual income by sewing, are pathetically related. At last, toiling on and yet wanting work, she is forced to pawn and sell some of her belongings.

Suddenly, while affairs are at their worst, Archie dies. Her uncle comes, and the scene already quoted takes place.

Again we have Frances back at Marshton.

"A year ago the neighborhood of Ebenezer Green's mill was a blithe spot. Now she can lean but for an instant over the rail of the bridge, and a tear drops down into the brook. The birch weaves back and forth under the dam just as it did a year ago;—it is a senseless thing; it is not concerned with what happens in the heart-world. Here is the stile; laughter and daring gave it life a year ago; but all that is past. The wild-rose bushes are in bloom again, and the roses ready to be picked; but who shall pick them? Farther down the road, below the bridge, where they sat of a forenoon a year ago, there are the same boulders. For aught any one knows, it may be the same small bird that goes hopping about the apple-boughs overhead; but there is nothing for him to hear there. The voices came and spoke and went; and that is ended. What of it? These stillnesses, these vacancies, are everywhere in Nature; they are her heart. She whispers to us all, not what is, but what might be. Let her dry your eyes as she tells you there is but a common lot,—this kind sister of ours.

Next came peace,—the peace of quiescence; peace reflected from the summer meadows, from the sleeping rocks; speaking softly in the field sounds, the tiny brook, and the insects.

Then, at last, the calm spirit lifted up itself and looked about, and saw all things living again. The sky and its clouds are not a dream.

The grass is bowing under the wind. The ants are busy carrying their burden. The cattle are lowing in the next field. The world is alive, after all. She is in it; what shall she do?"

What she finally does is to enter a convent located near Marshton. She engages her mind with the active charity work of the convent. She seeks repose. But the humanity in her will not be put down.

"She strove to force herself into agreement with her new life; she tried to kill her worldliness, as she called it. . . . At times, in the play of her worldly imagination, she conceived of the edifice, and the grounds about it, as peopled with household elves from the olden time, —imps who would not leave the old place, in spite of the nuns, but hung—half lugubriously, half defiantly, nay, perhaps with a lurking hope of restoration—among the vines on the walls without, and about the cornices and dark corners of the rooms within;—forlorn relics these, of the former uncloistered human life that once held sway here. Sometimes, in the extravagance of her fancy, she imagined these little devils as peeping out at her from the bushiness of the cedars, or sometimes as caracoling over the arabesque iron gates at the entrance to the yard, grinning angry protest everywhere against the banishment of family life from the convent."

But she works on faithfully and the reputation of her good deeds goes abroad. When Mr. Marsy, who owns a home adjoining the convent, and who has come upon it with an invalid friend, sees her, he looks upon her with no little curiosity. What he sees impels him to gaze more intently; for the author—as he should do—has given much attractiveness to the face of his heroine. Marsy comes into contact with Frances in charity work, and when Graham, his friend, nears the time of death he makes the request that he may have daily visitations from Sister Frances. Her duty impels her to grant the wish, and she visits him each day until he finally dies. Thus she is brought to feel more keenly the personality of Marsy. And Marsy, who has been fascinated by her prettiness, her lurking coquetry and her demure seriousness, determines that he must declare his love for her. Some time after the touching death of Graham, he follows Frances to the rocks on the coast and tells her of his love. She keeps to the path of duty. She has taken a serious step; she will be true to herself, she will regard her dignity and her vow. This she tells Marsy, but not without showing his influence with her. A period of two years

elapses. Marsy has been fighting in Bulgaria, and Frances has been struggling with herself in the convent. A question arises whether Marsy's home had not been conveyed to the convent by an old deed, and Frances, to quiet the title, pays the necessary money into the convent treasury. This coming to the ears of Marsy, brings him to Marshton.

Frances is weary of the convent restraints. In tears she seeks advice from an old friend, who has become an inmate of the House of Good Will. How may she save her dignity and yet break her vow?

We find no fault with the author's decision of this question. But we cannot pass over the last chapter of the book without expressing the opinion that the character of Frances has been marred by it. She is, no doubt, coquettish from the beginning of the story—perhaps worldly. But at eighteen, without great experience, she had shrunk from the conventional world, and there seems to be a retrograde movement in her character when we see her after all her trials and all her experience, turning again to the world. The author has evidently planned with deliberation a surprise in this chapter. But this surprise is not agreeable. The story is not one which—after the Aldrich type—is written to mislead, and which from its conclusion derives spice and brilliancy. On the contrary it is a study of character. It treats of life and death, of serious mistakes, of solemn decisions, and we are entitled to have no character-surprises which are not in the line of natural development. Is Frances' escape in the final chapter in accord with her growth? The author says yes, this is human nature. We may at least say she gave better promise; we regret her fall—all human nature is not alike. To tell the whole truth, we cannot believe that she so lost her dignity! She was outspoken, frank, brave, and daring. And when she was convinced that it was her duty to leave the convent she would have gone from it boldly. She would not have secretly defied its customs, remained within its doors, and tempted her companions. Her character had too much of calmness in it to warrant such extraordinary loss of poise as she shows in this convent scene with Marsy. She is represented as having toiled for months—patiently, earnestly, bravely—at needle work, for its small pecuniary reward. Never

wavering, she had kept to her struggle. Then she spends four long years in the convent. Would a change of mind, as respects the future, suddenly plunge such a person in a riot of worldly fancy? We think not. Albeit we like her. And for her future we wish peace and full occupation.

The other characters in the book are cleverly drawn. Marsy has about him an air of strength and worth which is gratifying, and Uncle Luther is a human combination of weakness and manliness.

We cordially congratulate Mr. Curran on the good work he has done, and we shall look for any books he may give us in the future with rare interest.

ARTICLE III.—MIRIAM.

AND when the cloud was lifted from those three,
Lo Miriam was leprous, white as snow !
The people stood aghast, and shrank away
As shadow-like she passed. Straight through the camp
She took her way, the prophetess, the chief
Of women ; who had heard the Highest speak
In holy dreams ; who had declared his ways
And sung His praise ; lo, now an outcast, vile,
With covered face, and thrust without the camp.
Men stood amazed, and death-like silence fell
Upon the host, as Miriam hastened on,
And muttered in a hoarse and broken voice,
Unclean, unclean !

Then stirred my heart within me,
And I ran and touched her, seized her hand.
My mistress, oh, my mistress—so I cried—
Let me go with thee ! while a sullen roar
Arose from all the watching crowd—thou too
Art now unclean,—and loudest shrieked the voice
Of those I loved, the dear ones in the tent.
But on my father's face I saw a smile,
(His was the house of Levi) and he said—
Go, child, and comfort her, I'll bring thee food.
So forth we fared together, she and I,
For she held fast my hand, although no word
She spoke. Through all that sea of eager folk
We passed. 'Twas like the Red sea passage with
Its massive walls of water, which I scarce
Remember, such a child was I. But these
Were living walls, with curious human eyes,
Some mocking, some rejoicing at the fall
Of Miriam, the noblest of them all,
And some with pity for her, and with tears.

So went we onward through that mighty host
And stood without the camp. And there were men
Who pitched a tent for Miriam, at command
Of my lord Moses ; some fresh water brought,
And some great sacks of wool : and all the while
She stood apart, in gloomy silence wrapt
As in a shroud. When all was done the men
Moved off, and presently my father came.
Upon his arm some badger's skins he bore,
And in his hand a cruse of milk, and dates,
And manna, freshly gathered at the dawn.
He set them on the ground, for he, a priest,
Might not approach to anything unclean.
Thy father's God shall bless thee, child, he said,
And thee, too, mighty Miriam ; and thou
Shalt see again the visions of the Lord
And hear His voice more plainly than before.
Whereat she smiled a rueful smile, and bowed
Her head, but spake no word.

And now the day
Was gone, and evening chill fell cold among
The mountain peaks of Hazeroth. I prayed
My mistress then to eat, and built a fire,
And begged her come and warm herself. But she
Beside the tent door sat, and shook her head.
And then the stars began to shine, and glowed
The cloudy pillar, hanging o'er the camp.
Whereon my mistress spoke in gentle tones
And bade me sleep, for she, she said, must watch
A while. Obedient, then I laid me down,
But purposed in my heart to watch also.
I must have slept, for presently I woke,
And saw the moon late rising o'er the hills
Look through the tent door. There sat Miriam
Erect and strong, her white hair not more white
Than was her ashen face, and she sang low :
Sing ye to the Lord for he hath triumphed
Gloriously. She ceased, and bowed her to the earth.
Full well am I called Miriam, she cried,
Exalted, yea exalted once, when I

Led forth the women in the joyful dance
With timbrel and with song, and praised the Lord ;
Now bitterness I taste as of the sea.
She bowed herself again and ceased. And then
After long pause of silent agony
Broke forth anew : My little Moses, mine,
Belov'd, son of my soul, whose tender life
These young arms held. Who watched o'er thee upon
The banks of treacherous Nile ? Who quickly ran
And faced the princess proud, with good excuse
To call a nurse, and brought thee home again ?
Thy life was in my hand ; my maiden breast
For thee knew all a mother's fears and joys,
First born, most dear art thou of all my sons.
And when I saw thee learned in the arts
Of Egypt, how my soul rejoiced in thee,
And pride and love conjoined to call thee mine !
My brother ! Did not all that ancient love
That service, and my older years, my gifts
Of prophecy, my holy dreams, give me
Some right of judgment when thou prov'st thyself
A man, and takest thee an alien wife ?

Again a pause, and longer than before,
And then in tones more resolute she spoke :
The bitterness is mine, I drain the cup,
And lo, the dregs turn honey in my mouth.
I said, I see, and so was blind ; I said,
I know, and so was but a fool. The gift
Of God is given to him who can receive.
He gave me gifts, and I but shut them out,
Not seeing in the light that His gifts shed,
But in my pride of darkness. Whereas he,
My brother, saw the glory of the Lord,
Had open vision, heard the voice of God,
Yet was withal so meek, that in my pride
I said my gifts are equal his, and made
My older years excuse for judgment, turned
My love to uses base, and rashly wrought
Sedition in the camp. Love gives no right

To sit in judgment on another's acts.
Each stands or falls to God alone—the Just,
The Wise, the Wonderful, I bless His name.

Again she ceased. The night was spent, the east
Flushed with the tint of dawn upon the hills.
She rose, and stood beside the open door.
The light fell on her, lo, her leprosy
Had vanished ; pure and smooth her noble brow,
The flush of dawn was painted on her cheek.
There stood she, tall, commanding as of yore,
But with a softened grace, as stately palms
Bedewed with rain ; and, as the sun arose,
Arose her voice, sonorous, strong and clear,
Sing ye to the Lord, for He hath triumphed
Gloriously.

CAROLINE HAZARD.

ARTICLE IV.—DR. KELLOGG'S "LIGHT OF ASIA AND LIGHT OF THE WORLD."

THE motive of Dr. Kellogg in writing this interesting and instructive book is given by him in his introduction, and sympathy with that motive has prompted the following review. He says: "There is reason to believe that a large class, even of Christian people, have a most exaggerated idea of the excellence of the great non-christian religions, and the extent to which their teachings agree with those of the Gospel of Christ." It was the wish to correct the widespread misconception of the likeness between Christianity and Buddhism that prompted him to write the book under consideration. The reader does not proceed far in it before feeling that he is being guided in thought by a man thoroughly conversant with his subject, and honest in his purpose to give credit to Buddhism for all that is true and good in it, whether as a system of religion or of ethics. But while treating Buddhism with the utmost candor, he announces in the outset that he is writing for a purpose, and not from the standpoint of religious indifference. He urges that he has a right to take his stand upon the ascertained truths of Christianity in his investigations of the teachings of other religious systems. The astronomer does not ignore the facts already in his possession in his further study of the heavens, but makes those facts the basis of his researches; so the scholar should use the accepted facts of Christianity in studying other religions. To reject truth already in possession is to disqualify one's self for the discovery of further truth, or to discriminating truth from error.

NOTE.—The following paper is a summary of the first four chapters of Dr. Kellogg's "Light of Asia and Light of the World," giving the results but not the processes of the discussion. Thoughts of the writer have sometimes been introduced without sharply distinguishing them from the thoughts of the author he is following, but such passages have only been introduced to make emphatic some important truth by giving it further application; and it is hoped that the conclusions of the author have in no passage been misrepresented.—D. Z. SHEFFIELD.

The first chapter is devoted to pointing out the chief causes that have operated to make Buddhism attractive in western lands. The first enumerated is the presumption in favor of a religion which has propagated itself by persuasion, and not by force, and gained control over the religious convictions of such vast multitudes of men. Buddhism has secured the largest *vote* of humanity in its favor, and many men are disposed to decide the question of truth or error by the largest show of hands. Again: "Buddhism recognizes no eternal being, only an eternal becoming." (Koppen.) It teaches, "that all that is, is simply the result of an evolution from a previous state of things, as also that state of things from one before, and so on, by an eternal process, of which a beginning is not even thinkable." Such teaching is pleasing to many men in western lands who see in it an essential harmony with the doctrine of evolution, which excuses men from believing that "in the beginning God created the heavens and the earth," that he formed man's body out of the dust of the earth, and breathed into it a living spirit. The teachings of Buddhism are in harmony with the natural dispositions of men to glory in man, in his powers and achievements. Christianity humbles man with a profound sense of guilt in the sight of God, and only exalts him through the road of repentance, and trust in the Divine Saviour; but Buddhism appeals to man's natural inclination to save himself by his own works, to atone for sin by works of righteousness, and at last to make for himself a seat among the gods. Buddhism leaves no place for God in its teachings. It does not explain the cause of the eternal succession of worlds, and thus it finds sympathizing apologists among the agnostic atheists of Christendom. Buddhism is pessimistic in its views of life. "Death is suffering; sickness is suffering; to be united to what is not loved is suffering; to be parted from what is loved is suffering; not to attain one's desires is suffering." Christianity makes suffering an incident of sin, and its counterpart is endless joy in a life of holiness. Buddhism makes suffering an incident of existence, and the goal of self-culture is to escape from its power in a state of unconsciousness. This sorrowful view of life awakens response in the hearts of many who have tasted of bitterness and disappointment, and who are without that joy and hope which is begotten by a living faith in Christ.

Dr. Kellogg further enumerates the high order of ethical teachings set forth in the Buddhistic system as a cause of its attractiveness. He is disposed in this respect to regard Buddhism as standing alone among the various religions of the non-Christian world. It is doubtful if he would have spoken so strongly had he been as well acquainted with the ethical teachings of Confucianism as with those of Buddhism. The two ethical systems have very much in common, and both have much that is in harmony with Christianity. On the whole the Confucian ethical system is more symmetrical and healthy than that of Buddhism. It teaches men their duties in the ordinary relations of life. It offends against Christian ethics by not tracing the grounds of human obligation to their ultimate source in God; but while Buddhism equally fails in this respect, its teachings, if practically carried out, in magnifying the duty of retiring from the world to escape its evils, and to make progress in virtue, would prove more deranging and disintegrating to society than those of Confucianism and so less in harmony with the true standard of social ethics. Buddhism was, still further, a revolt against the Brahminical system of pretended revelation, and thus commends itself to men who are disposed to reject authority in religion, who regard human reason as the only true guide in life, and look upon faith in the supernatural as superstition. Again there are certain analogies in the history and doctrines of Buddhism and Christianity which have been seized upon with gladness by men who wish to degrade Christianity from the supreme place which it assumes as the one true religion, to the humbler place of one of the great religions, performing along with others its part in the spiritual elevation of the race.

The second chapter is occupied with the discussion of the comparative historical value of the Buddhist and Christian scriptures. The time of the life of Christ is fixed and certain. A large company of disciples received their instructions directly from his lips. The story of Christ was written down by men who had special opportunities to learn the exact truth, in the time, and with the approval of living witnesses to the correctness of their record. If the time of the life of Christ were a matter of uncertainty; if the disciples who recorded his life

and teachings received their information not directly but by tradition, which had been subject to the corruption of oral transmission for one or two centuries, the credit of the witnesses to the life and teachings of Christ would be greatly weakened. But the date of the life of Buddha is a matter of uncertainty among the best scholars. Many scholars follow the southern school of Buddhists, and fix the date of the death of Buddha at 543 B. C. Other distinguished scholars give later dates, Müller 477 B. C., Rhys Davids 410 B. C., Weber 370 B. C. Thus there is an uncertainty of one or two hundred years as to the time of the life of Buddha. Yet further, if we accept the latest date proposed by scholars for the death of Buddha there yet elapsed a period of over three hundred years before the teachings of Buddha were committed to writing by his disciples (86-76 B. C.). Again, Christ lived in an age of the world the very best known in ancient history, in an illustrious period in the history of Rome. The period was one of intellectual enlightenment, when men were tired of old superstitions, and were disposed to challenge the truthfulness of teachings propounded to them. Christianity was itself a protest against superstition, and invited the closest scrutiny of its doctrinal teachings, and its statement of facts. It did not appear as something suddenly dropped down out of heaven, but pointed to a long history of God's peculiar dealing with a nation which he had taken under special pupilage, and that history culminated in the fully authenticated life and teachings of Christ. In contrast with all this, the life of Buddha was in an obscure, uncertain period of Indian history, without contemporaneous history to witness to the propagation of Buddhism. Dr. Hunter in his Article in the *Britannica* on India makes the external history to begin with the invasion of Alexander (327 B. C.), and Lenormant in his "Ancient History of the East" omits India, for the reason, as he informs the reader, that his purpose is to write reliable history, but that in the present state of knowledge a reliable history of India can not be written. Thus the teachings of Buddha were orally transmitted for several centuries by disciples destitute of the historical instinct, but with vivid imaginations, leading to great diversity in the accounts of the life and teachings of Buddha,

and the Buddhists themselves tell us that the canon was committed to writing to prevent hopeless corruption.

The conclusion is that while the New Testament scriptures are of the very highest historical value as a record of facts, and a truthful account of the teachings of Christ, the Buddhistic scriptures are of little historical value, as the student is compelled to trust to his critical judgment to discriminate between fact and fable. Christ's teachings were committed to writing by living witnesses of the highest order of integrity, many of them sealing their testimony with their lives. The evidence as to the life and teachings of Christ is more exact and complete than is the evidence as to the life and teachings of any ancient sage, for example, of Socrates or Confucius. These facts compelled acceptance in a critical age. Even the enemies of Christianity, Julian, Celsus, Porphyry, never called in question the great outlines of the life of Christ as a religious teacher. But the disciples of Buddha have produced no reliable life of their master. Their love of prodigies has run riot in wild fancies as to his words and acts, and facts and fiction have been cast into a well-nigh insoluble mass.

The third chapter gives a sketch of the life and legend of Buddha. He was probably born five or six centuries before Christ the son of a petty Indian prince. The accounts of his childhood and youth have no historical value, but Buddhist authorities do not attribute to him acquaintance with Vedic learning, in which Brahmin youth were educated. At twenty-nine years of age he was married to the beautiful Yasodhara, who bore him one son, Rāhula. The exact causes which led him to the adoption of the ascetic life may not be known, but it can be easily understood how the sight of poverty, sickness, and misery on every side operated on a sensitive and compassionate temperament, leading him to the solemn resolution to solve for himself and others the mystery of the world's sorrow. The end of all his strivings was to discover the way that should lead to the succession of pain. He sought in vain for instruction among the Brahmin teachers, and failing in this he took to a life of rigid penance and self-mortification, but all in vain. At length there came a decisive spiritual struggle, in which he believed himself to have solved the enigma of life, and to have

discovered the way of escape from pain. It was then that he discovered "The four noble truths" which form the basis of the Buddhist doctrinal system :—(1) Sorrow is inseparable from existence; (2) The cause of sorrow is "thirst," or "desire;" (3) The destruction of sorrow is effected by the destruction of thirst; (4) The way to this end is the eightfold holy path. He now began his career as a preacher of his newly-discovered method to extinguish sorrow, but at first men were slow in entering upon the celibate and mendicant life, as it was seen that it would break up families, and if strictly carried out would put an end to society. It was necessary to make room in the system for families and business communities. This was done by promulgating a secondary system of observances which could be kept by the householder; and though not leading directly to nirvana, would improve the condition of the present life, and lead to better conditions for the attainment of nirvana in the next life. The life of Buddha has therefore almost nothing in common with the life of Christ, and much that is in the sharpest contrast. Buddha was born in riches, Christ in poverty. Buddha was born in marriage, Christ of a pure virgin. Buddha struggled long to secure salvation from misery, Christ had no such struggle. Buddha died a natural death at a ripe old age, Christ died a violent death upon the cross. The legend of Buddha abounds in records of miracles supported by no evidence, akin to the wild, superstitious fancies that have sprung up at a certain stage in the development of almost every ancient nation. Buddha, we are told, was originally a rich Brahmin living in a remote period of the past. He resolved to renounce his wealth and become an ascetic that he might attain to the state in which there is no rebirth, and therefore no sorrow. But his self-renunciation was in its motives in sharpest contrast with the self-sacrifice of Christ. Christ veiled his divinity, and chose a life of shame and humiliation, that he might bring men back to their true relation to God; Buddha gave himself to a life of temporary discomfort and self-denial that he might ultimately attain to self-exaltation, a kind of self-deification, the end of all effort being, not as in Christianity a life of eternal blessedness, but an escape from misery. Five hundred births are enumerated, as man, as god, as bird, as

beast, before the estate of Buddhahood was reached. The circumstances of the last conception and birth abound with the most extravagant wonders that a prolific imagination could invent. When born he was placed upon the earth, and he walked at once, and shouted, "I am the chief of the world." A venerable ascetic, Asita, seeing the heavenly hosts rejoicing, paid a visit to the new-born child, and prophesied that the misery and wretchedness of men would disappear, and at his bidding peace and joy would everywhere flourish. His youth was spent in the luxury of the palace, and it was sought to exclude from him all suggestions of pain and sorrow; but in spite of every precaution he learned of the world's misery, and that the end of life was weakness, decay, and death. He resolved at length to give up the palace and the kingdom, his wife and child, and discover for himself and for the world the way of escape from pain and woe. Mara, the prince of evil, appeared in the air to oppose his renunciation of the world, promising that he would soon become sovereign over four continents and two thousand islands; but he resisted the temptation, and set himself to the achievement of his purpose. After long years of struggle and failure the great day of victory came, but it was preceded by Mara's last and most terrible attack to prevent the consummation of his purposed good. He sent against the Bodhisat a scourge of wind, of rain, of burning rocks, of swords and spears, of burning charcoal, ashes, sand, and filth, followed by a four-fold darkness; but he stood firm and recounted his good deeds, to which the earth testified with an awful roar, and Mara was at last discomfited. The conflict was ended, and it was followed by the apprehension of the long-sought-for saving knowledge, when the Buddha reached the end of desire, and so of misery. Filled with his suddenly attained perfect wisdom, he went forth to persuade men to follow him in the attainment of deliverance from pain and misery. In all these stories which cluster about the birth, the renunciation, and the illumination of Buddha we are impressed with their extravagance and childishness, standing in entire contrast with the appropriateness and modest dignity of the stories of the birth, the temptations, the teachings, and works of the Divine Redeemer.

The fourth chapter is occupied with the discussion of the legend of Buddha and the story of Christ. Dr. Kellogg discusses in a very candid and scholarly way the question as to whether Buddhism had any influence in Palestine before the time of Christ. He quotes from many high authorities on the subject, and his conclusion is that there is no evidence of such influence, either in the history or the literature of the time. He quotes from Professor Kuenen as saying: "I think that we may safely affirm that we must abstain from assigning to Buddhism the smallest direct influence in the origin of Christianity." Mr. Rhys Davids also says: "I can find no evidence whatever of any actual and direct communication of any of these ideas common to Buddhism and Christianity from the east to the west." There are no traces of Buddhism in Jewish literature before the time of Christ, no evidence that Buddhism was known in the Roman Empire at the time of Christ. The name of Buddha is not named by any Roman author until Clement of Alexandria. The Gospels were written by personal witnesses of the teachings and works of Christ, and there was no time for the facts of his teachings and works to have been corrupted by Buddhistic legends. Yet further, there was no motive for inserting such foreign legends. They were never accused of this by their ancient enemies, who were ready to turn every possible weapon against Christianity. The alleged coincidences either in incidents or teachings between Buddhism and Christianity are natural and appropriate to the time and circumstances as they stand recorded in the Gospels, and the mere fact of coincidence is not sufficient to attribute to them a foreign origin.

There is no likeness between the previous existence of Buddha and Christ. Christ dwelt in the bosom of the Father, in the glory of his eternal Divinity. Buddha passed through a multitude of transmigrations; eighty times as ascetic, fifty-eight times as king, twenty-four times a brahmin, twenty times the god Sakka, forty-three times a tree-god, five times a slave, once a devil-dancer, twice a rat, twice a pig.

Christ was born of a pure virgin, but the attempt of some scholars to prove that Buddhistic authorities attribute virginity to the mother of Buddha is not confirmed by candid investiga-

tion, and is contrary to the most ancient traditions. The further attempt to prove that Buddhistic writings teach that Buddha was conceived by the Holy Ghost must also be set aside.

A neighboring king, Bimbisara, we are told, was advised to destroy Buddha while yet a youth for the safety of his kingdom, but the king refused to molest the young prince. This incident has been pressed by men of a lively imagination into likeness to the incident of Herod's seeking to destroy Christ.

Dr. Kellogg criticises with just severity the author of "*The Light of Asia*" for not infrequently describing the story of Buddha, using language nearly coincident with that of Scripture, and thus leading the reader to infer that the writers of the Gospels were borrowers from Buddhism in these passages, while in fact they seem to be the pure creation of the imagination of the poet, with nothing corresponding to them in Buddhistic writings. Thus the aged Asita says to the mother of the infant Buddha :

" A sword must pierce
Thy bowels for this boy."

" The lord paced in meditation lost,
Thinking, alas ! for all my sheep which have
No shepherd, wandering in the night, with none
To guide them."

There were certain incidental agreements in the life of Buddha and Christ, which however differ so entirely in their circumstances and details that they can only be attributed to accident, without supposing that either Christian or Buddhistic writers were borrowers in what they related. Such was the fact of a past of both Buddha and Christ before entering upon their ministry; their presentation in a temple in infancy; Christ's blessing by Simeon and Anna, and Buddha's blessing by the aged Asita. So there were occasional agreements in the form of teaching of Buddha and Christ, and in illustrations employed. Thus Buddha said: "What is the use of platted hair? Fool! what of the raiment of goat-skins? Within them there is ravaging, but the outside thou makest clean." Again: "As when a string of blind men are clinging the one to the other, neither can the foremost see, nor can the middle one see, nor can the hindmost see, just so, methinks, Vasita is the talk

of the Brahmins versed in the three Vedas." Presents were made to Buddha as to Christ at his birth, but the coincidence is naturally explained by the prevalence of the custom of giving presents at the birth of persons of rank. The miracles ascribed to the life of Buddha and those wrought by the power of Christ present the strongest contrasts. Christ's miracles were deliberate and express exhibitions of Divine power, and were wrought as a witness to his mission, and further to symbolize important truths. The Buddhistic miracles were for the most part spontaneous prodigies of nature manifested at certain important epochs in the life of Buddha. They were grotesque and frivolous, and destitute of any ethical end. Christ refused to work miracles to gratify curiosity, but Buddha in an athletic contest threw an elephant sixteen miles, and caused a vessel to move up a stream as swiftly as a race horse!

The temptations of Buddha and Christ have interesting points of likeness, but these likenesses have been exaggerated. Arnold in his *"Light of Asia"* mistakes the nature of the temptation of Buddha, making it a temptation to the sin of selfishness, and thus of similar ethical significance to the temptation of Christ; but the Buddhistic term thus misinterpreted means: "The affirmation of the existence of an abiding soul, or self," (Rhys Davids). So the language put by Arnold into the mouth of the tempter: "If thou be'st Buddha," is an anachronism, since Gautama did not become Buddha, "the enlightened one," until after the temptation. Arnold heightens the likeness of the temptation of Buddha to that of Christ by choosing those incidents which suggest similarity, and suppressing many others that in their grotesqueness and wild exaggerations are in utter contrast with the temptation of Christ. The story of the temptation of our first parents lingered in the traditions of many nations, and may have had its influence on the legend of the temptation of Buddha. There is an almost universal belief in evil spirits who employ themselves in preventing the accomplishment of that which is good; and thus there were natural causes why the legend of Buddha's temptation should have taken the form in which we find it, and there is no reason for assuming any borrowing, in the account of either temptation.

The legend of Buddha's first sermon suggests a possible relation to the story of the day of Pentecost, though the divergence is so wide that the similarity may be only accidental; but if there were borrowing it must have been on the part of the Buddhistic writers, since in the Buddhistic legend we can only see at best a wild distortion of the wonderful but unembellished story of Pentecost. Thus we are told that the worlds were left empty, as all the gods and heavenly beings came to listen to Buddha, and so crowded were they that a hundred thousand gods had no more space than the point of a needle, and when Buddha spoke, "Though he spoke in the language of Magadha, each one thought that he spoke in his own language."

Dr. Kellogg in discussing the question as to whether Buddhism could have borrowed from Christianity, points to the fact of the existence of a Syrian Church in India at a very early date, which according to the tradition of that church was founded by Thomas the Apostle. Still further, the truths of Christianity were widely propagated in India and China before the legend of Buddha assumed its final form; and when we remember on the one hand that early Christianity propagated itself among nations who had a quick historical instinct, preserving careful records of important events to transmit to posterity; and on the other, that Buddhism propagated itself in a nation peculiarly destitute of the historical sense, leaving modern scholars to grope in almost hopeless confusion as to the exact dates, and the precise facts concerning almost every question of interest; it becomes evident that the attempt to make Christianity a borrower from Buddhism has no justification in history. The motives that have led men to this line of argument, when traced to their springs, are the desire to rob Christianity of its assumed divine origin, and to deny to it the supreme place as the one religion fitted to satisfy the highest spiritual wants of men; but the attempt is doomed to ultimate failure, and while Buddhism in the total outcome of its teachings is a mass of superstitions, starving men's spiritual natures with that which is not bread, Christianity will continue its glorious mission of breaking the bread of life to a famishing world.

D. Z. SHEFFIELD.

Tungcho, April 24, 1888.

UNIVERSITY TOPICS.

THE MATHEMATICAL CLUB OF YALE UNIVERSITY.

Tuesday, April 10.

Professor Gibbs read a paper comparing the elastic and the electrical theories of light with respect to the law of double refraction and the dispersion of colors. (This has since appeared in the *American Journal of Science*, June number).

Tuesday, May 1.

Capt. Chas. H. Townshend exhibited a new doubly-reflecting circle, and explained its use.

Professor Newton described a stereographic projection of the sphere (in two hemispheres) which he had had printed for use in plotting and reducing observations upon meteors. He also presented some relations which he had found to hold true between the former orbits of those meteorites which are in our collections and which have been seen to fall and the earth's orbit about the sun. These are summed up in the following propositions.

1. The meteorites which we have in our cabinets and which were seen to fall were originally (as a class and with a very small number of exceptions) moving about the Sun in orbits that had inclinations less than 90° , that is, their motions were direct not retrograde.

2. The reason why we have only this class of stones in our collections is not one wholly or even mainly dependent on the habits of men;—nor on the times when men are out of doors; nor on the places where men live; nor on any other principle of selection acting at or after the arrival of the stones at the ground. Either the stones which are moving in the solar system across the earth's orbit move in general in direct orbits;—or else for some reason the stones which move in retrograde orbits do not in general come through the air to the ground in solid form.

3. The perihelion distances of nearly all the orbits in which these stones moved were not less than 0.5, nor more than 1.0, the earth's radius vector being unity.

THE POLITICAL SCIENCE CLUB.

May 25. Mr. F. D. Pavey read a paper on Trusts.

The agitation over the question of "trusts" was defined as a new phase of a conflict between the theory of competition and the constant expansion of the scale of industrial enterprise. The distinction was noted between commercial competition and industrial competition, the former being embodied in the legal maxim that "competition is the life of trade." The inapplicability of this form of competition to modern industrial production conducted by means of a large permanent investment in plant was pointed out, as well as the influence of unrestricted competition upon the recurrence of periods of commercial inflation and depression. Two principal conclusions were reached.

1. The widespread existence of combinations of some character for regulating production and controlling prices in almost every industry.

2. Their cause is the real and not fancied evils of unrestricted competition.

The paper closed with the prediction of the probable futility of attempts to remove trusts by means of direct prohibitory legislation or indirect tariff legislation, and with the suggestion that in regulative legislation, based upon unbiased investigation and having for its object the prevention of discrimination either in transportation or prices, might be found the solution of the difficulty.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL CLUB.

April 11. Professor A. Jay DuBois read a paper on "Science and Miracle."

April 24. Mr. W. L. Cross presented a paper on Lessing's "Laokoon." The essay consisted mainly of an exposition of Lessing's theory of poetry.

A discussion followed on Wordsworth's poetry, and Matthew Arnold's conceptions of the nature and purpose of poetic art.

May 8. Dr. William T. Harris of Concord read a paper on "Philosophy: its problem and method." Dr. Harris gave an introductory sketch of speculative thought, and then proceeded to elaborate his own views and to set forth clearly his philosophical position. At the close of the reading, Dr. Harris responded to a number of questions with regard to philosophical subjects.

ADDRESS AT THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE YALE
DIVINITY SCHOOL, MAY 16TH, 1888.*Gentlemen of this Divinity School:**Instructors and Scholars:*

THE line of thought I shall follow on this occasion is suggested by the words of the Master to be found in the fourth chapter of Mark's gospel, the twenty-eighth verse, as follows:

"First the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear."

These are wonderfully simple words with which to set forth the grandest of all processes and events—the coming of the kingdom of God. Yet these are the words which He who knew most about that kingdom's nature and growth chose to employ, to tell men how it is to come.

The Master was speaking under the blue canopy of a Syrian sky. He was seated in a little boat moored just off the strand of the sweet lake of Galilee. The hearers of the speaker's words were a great multitude, gathered along the water-side within sound of the gentle-voiced prophet of Nazareth. Standing, or, in many instances, sitting or lying on the ground—for many of them had come from far—they listened to his lessons; simple in language as the grass which grew about them; picturesque with colors caught from the passing moment and the present scene. Behind them stretched and rose the slopes of cultured hills; before them spread the quiet waters of the lake. The whole scene is summer-like. The speaker's words are summer-like no less. For every parable which Mark records as uttered there—and there are several of them—is of the sowing or the growth of seeds. They might have been borrowed, every one, from objects before the speaker's eye.

The preacher's subject was the coming of the kingdom of God. The coming, that is, of the time when the Divine light, and love, and will, shall thoroughly fill the world. The time when all that he elsewhere defines true religion to be—love to God and love to man, piety and brotherhood—shall be the possession of all mankind.

And how was that coming to be? Nay how had its progress hitherto been, for from of old this kingdom had been in progress. It was no new thing the preacher was telling about. God from the world's very beginning had been working at this enterprise.

"So is the kingdom of God," he says, "First the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear."

Here before your eyes—in effect he declares—in these green fields about you, you have a symbol of that process which is to bring in the final paradise. This stalk of wheat typifies it. First the blade, then the ear. The light from of old has been shining in the world. And still and with increasing brightness this light shines. And the darkness will comprehend it more and more. For the manifestation of that God whom no man hath at any time seen is as the growth of a seed. The knowledge of him in the world is like leaven working in the measure of meal. The love of him grows like the reaching forth into the wider air of the branches that shelter the birds of heaven. For there is first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear.

I wish now, my friends, to call your attention to three things.

I wish you to notice a little more definitely the symbol itself which Christ employs. Then I wish you to glance with me at some rapid illustrations of the truthfulness of this symbol as manifested in religious history hitherto. And then I want you to coöperate with me in gaining some instruction for present and future benefit suggested by it.

First, then, the symbol itself—the growing of a grain of wheat. The learning of all ages cannot explain its mystery. Art never contrived a secret so close as that hid in that little brown seed dropped, almost invisible, into the ground. But look what happens! Out of the inanimate clay comes up the pale and timorous blade; a little scarce-seen thread on the damp spring soil; yet it holds within it that inscrutable power which no research can discover—the principle of life. Life! The word is easy to speak, but what it is we know not. God lives we say. Man lives, and, as we say, dies too. A tree is alive or dead. But what it is which lives in grass blade or the soul of man is alike unknown. But anyway the wheat-plant

lives. Summer lifts it to freer air. Summer lengthens and joints the growing stalk; unfolds to the wind the waving blade; crowns the whole with the bearded ear prophetic of harvest to come.

It is in the close-wrapped folds of that bristling ear that all the purpose of the plant is hid. Autumn shows this at last. The tiny, embryonic point hidden in the ear swells and rounds and hardens to the seed. The little, formless thing for which the plant had lived becomes the perfect grain; holding in itself the mystery of reproductive life, and able to hand on that mystery of re-vivifying being to a thousand generations to come.

This little grain, then, is the true object of the plant. The blade reached upward for it. The ear folded itself close to shelter it. When it was perfected, stalk and ear decayed. They were but its servants. They the less; it the greater. They the means; it the end.

Yet very likely a superficial eye might have thought otherwise. The blade and the ear seemed more beautiful and perhaps more important. They were attractive in themselves. They had a loveliness of their own. They seemed for awhile, more than the grain, to be the object of the plant. But the mute confession of the decaying blade, and stalk, and ear is that they live but for the grain. The lesser passes, while the greater abides. The relative drops away; the essential endures. The means are obsolete when the end is secured.

"So is the kingdom of God." There, too—said the preacher by the green fields of the lake—there too holds the same law. First the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear.

So much for the simple but wonderful symbol itself. I invite you now to notice how truly these words do illustrate the unfolding hitherto of that kingdom of God which has been growing in the world. See, for one moment, how they illustrate that feature of the kingdom's growth, found in a better knowledge of the Being of God himself.

The seed of the knowledge of God was planted in Eden. That was a good soil, and had the plant grown to its ripeness there, how great might have been the harvest! But when it was cast forth into the wilderness, it found but a rocky and barren ground. Still there was life in it.

All through the Patriarchal ages—the spring time of our religious history—the blade was struggling up. Those first fathers of men knew something of God. Enoch and Methuselah much. Yet God is known only as he reveals himself. And it is by his acts largely that he reveals himself.

Comparatively little therefore could he be known ; for comparatively few of those great moral acts by which we know God were known by men in that April time. Yet the blade grew ! The Noachian deluge, with its mighty lesson about sin, was to this plant of the knowledge of God like a very rain of May. How it had increased when the sun broke out again !

Those long soft days of Abraham's, and of Isaac's, and of Jacob's time—then grew well the strengthening blade. Abraham from Moriah's top saw even in vision the perfect ear.

But better still were the hot Egyptian and Arabian airs to quicken this plant. When God went before Israel in a pillar of fire ; when he cleft the sea ; when he smote the rock ; when the opening earth swallowed Dathan and his troop ; when Sinai thundered or when Jordan parted to keep covenant with Israel's entrance to the promised land, how grew in men's minds the knowledge of God ! A God of Power ; a God of Holiness ; yet a God of love and faithfulness too. Men knew him better than before.

And so down through prophetic and kingly times : from David at once king and prophet also, to Jehoiakim under whom Judah was carried to far Babylon ; and Daniel and Ezekiel who in that distant land still told of a kingdom yet to be, how wonderfully in all these times was the knowledge of God growing among men ! Surely the blade was lifting toward the ear !

But when did the ear disclose itself ? We cannot mistake the time. It was when He came and spoke, who now beside the Galilean lake told what was the law of the kingdom's growth. When he spoke—not as Moses had done and as Israel generally had believed, of a God of Jews only—but of a God and Friend of all men everywhere. Of a God who was a Father. Of a Son who was also God. Of God the blessed Comforter abiding with men forever.

It was while he lived his lofty and simple life ; it was when

he died his mysterious and redeeming death, that the crowning ear came forth upon this plant of time, and the wheat grains shaped themselves in its folded heart. And all the ages since that day have been only a later summer to perfect the grain. Days of the Holy Ghost. Calm August of the Comforter. Days ripening and rounding out the thought of God in all mankind.

Look back and see the change! Our thought of God and Enoch's thought—how different, yet the same! The blade and ear are different, but one plant. We call not with Moses on the indistinguishable One. No! by the Son it is we come unto the Father, led by the Holy Ghost. Yet Moses' God is our God. Not ours only. This is the knowledge of the being of God which is going out through all the earth. This patriarchal blade, this prophetic stalk, this Christian ear and grain, is to be the knowledge of every family of man. The plant of Eden's conception of God the Creator, has ripened to Christendom's conception of the Triune Father, Redeemer, and Sanctifier of mankind. And can we tell the process of this growth of the knowledge of God among men, in any truer phrase than that the Master used: First the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear? Even so, he says, comes on the kingdom of heaven.

Or take another example of the truthfulness of Christ's symbol: The growth in men of the understanding of God's law.

Doubtless some knowledge of God's law was with men from the beginning. Paul speaks truly when he says man was "made under the law." Physical laws of man's own being there were of course always. Moral intuitions and sanctions of conscience, there must have been from the first. And some outward and positive requirements—however communicated—surely were recognized as imposed by God in the earliest times.

But it is very difficult for us, after all, to discover precisely what perceptions of Divine Law the Patriarchal fathers had. Through those long generations from Seth to Abraham—which common chronology counts as upward of twenty centuries—this plant of the divine knowledge seems to have had a growth as hard to discern as that of the wheat grain when first it struggles upward to a tiny blade.

There have been however, since that Abrahamic hour—itsself an hour of unwonted revelation on this matter—two great periods when this plant of the knowledge of God's law made sudden and vigorous growth.

One of these periods was when, in the valleys underneath Arabia's quaking mountain, this feeble blade shot up in a day toward the bearded ear. That was indeed the period of the plant's external glory. Then statute was piled upon statute. Then the whole life of the Hebrew was hedged about by commandments. A "thus saith the Lord" was written on every utensil of his house, on every circumstance of his behavior. There was this requirement for a theft, this for a vow, this for the accidental touch of a dead body, or a bone dropped by the wayside. The new moon had its legislative enactments, and so had sowing time and harvest.

This was a state of things fitted doubtless to important uses, but raw and temporary ones. Majestic and imposing, it had for its single end the purpose of training men up to the knowledge of a law more spiritual; and, compared with what preceded it, undemonstrative and invisible.

And when did that ripe grain disclose itself? We know the time! It was when God and his law became manifest in Christ. It was when he rent the husk of old Hebrew ceremonial, and scattered its chaff to the winds. It was when he promulgated the law, not of Mount Sinai but of Mount Olivet; not of Judaism but of Christianity; not of endless prohibitions and commands concerning outward matters, but one whose simple provisions penetrate the invisible places of the heart. How wonderful yet how potent the change!

The old law said, "Thou shalt have no other Gods before me." The new law said, "Our Father which art in Heaven." The old law said, "Thou shalt not swear, or steal, or kill; wash your hands before you sacrifice; put off your shoes when you draw nigh the tabernacle; pay a tithe of all you possess." The new law said, with all comprehending simplicity, "Be perfect even as your father in heaven is perfect." This was the full corn in the ear. The blade of patriarchal rule had withered, and the husk of Mosaic statutes had dropped away, but the grain for which they had lived remains, the bread of the Christian world.

And with this new conception of law came also a new conception of obedience. The old Hebrew trembled as he took his goat or lamb to the priest lest some undiscovered blemish should vitiate his offering. Or perhaps he might have touched some unclean person in the throng. Not a rag that fluttered in the air but might bring him defilement.

Now how changed! How open the way to God, when the invitation is, "whosoever will, let him come." How confident the bringer of the heart's loving offering—be it great or small—when it is read: "If there be first a willing mind it is accepted according to that a man hath, and not according to that he hath not." Then too that other table of obedience, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

Not now is there one law of kindness for the Hebrew brother of our blood, and another for the stranger within our gates. No more is there any Moabite or Ammonite under sentence never to enter the congregation of our Israel. The fellowship of men is no longer an inference from such commands as bid us not to steal or kill. Ah, rather see how the full grain of this plant of brotherhood gladdens already the hungry of a hundred lands! See how the new principle translates itself into the living experience of the world! Feet it is to the lame; eyes it is to the blind; strength it is to the weak; wits it is to the feeble-minded; comfort to the suffering of every race. And still the plant grows! And so will it grow more and more. Its ripening and harvesting is but just begun. The blade and stalk of Moses' law—that was certainly imposing in his days. But the full corn of the law—the uplifting of the loving heart to a loving God, and the life of outgoing endeavor for one's fellow men—that is the beauty of our time and the glory of our future. So, says the Master, so is the kingdom of heaven.

Or notice as one more illustration of the truth of Christ's symbol in the past of human experience—the thought of worship.

We will pass by the uncertain beginnings of this growth in early Scripture times, and come at once to the period when the plant of worship shot up into a luxuriant blade. God had doubtless before, in some way, guided individuals—Abel, Noah,

Abraham. Now he undertook to instruct a race how rightly to worship him.

And how did he do it? The imposing array of appliances shows the difficulty of the task. Look into the gorgeous ritual established in the Levitical code designed to captivate the imagination and hold the allegiance of a fickle multitude who were to be won to the grave and uncongenial duty of the worship of God. Behold the glory of the tabernacle, with its volumed folds of purple and scarlet tapestries, wrought with all manner of cunning needle work. See the ark, overlaid with gold, and over-shadowed by the wings of the golden cherubim. Remember the Altar—whether in the tabernacle or the temple which succeeded the tabernacle—the altar whereon burned the ever-lighted flame of perpetual offerings. Behold the clouds of incense. See the procession of splendidly attired ministrants. Observe the expectant throng, awaiting the coming out from behind the veil of an anointed man,—sole man of all the nation permitted to enter there. Most impressive certainly, and in parts most beautiful!

But what now, underneath this pomp of lusty blade and stalk was the inward principle—the little seed grain, which was the object of it all? We can scarcely find it wrapped about by the beautiful husk and canopied by the flowing leaf. But it is there. Weak, unseen almost, it lies within all this gorgeousness and show. And what is it? Ages were required to give the answer. All the long summer of Israel's kingly and prophetic times must pass. All the chill autumn of those four hundred years when history was closed and prophecy was silent, must also go. Then at last the full corn dropped from the rent and scattered ear. "In this mountain," said the Samaritan. "Only at Jerusalem," said the Jew. "Nay," said the Master, "not in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem. God is a spirit and they that worship him, must worship in spirit and in truth." That was the full corn, the bread of Christendom forever.

Some, indeed, still seem more to admire the stalk than the grain. Some unable to reach to the Master's idea of worship "in the spirit" only, revert to aids and symbols of religion's weaker time. Vestments and rituals are a help to such.

Southward or eastward posture is a solemn question. The color and texture of an altar cloth is only something less than a point of saving faith. Or the amount of water in a baptism is a sufficient excuse for a denomination. Or the distinction between a ruling and a non-ruling elder justifies a sect.

But the thought of worship Christ expressed can dispense with religion's childish things. Nay it can dispense with a great deal of the husk which still wraps about the freest of all our Christian lives. The whole earth is the altar of our sacrifice. Heaven's blue canopy is the curtain of our tabernacle. Where we kneel, in every place—by night or noon, on the mountain or in the closet, together or alone—there the Shekinah of the presence is, there Christ is with us to the end of the world. For there is first the blade, but at last there comes the full corn in the ear.

Having now considered Christ's symbol, and glanced at some illustrations of its truthfulness in setting forth certain features of the progress of the Kingdom of God in the past, let us turn now, in accordance with our design, to see what instructions for present and future benefit we may gain.

And one instruction is that of Christian anticipation and faith. These words of Christ, "First the blade then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear," suggest a glorious prophecy of future development of the Kingdom of God.

I have, indeed, from time to time in this discourse spoken of one or another feature of religion's present aspect as being the "full corn" for which the past has lived. And so indeed it is, when the past only is taken into view. But the Kingdom of God is not finished yet. There is a fuller corn which is still to gladden the earth. The story of redemption is not yet wholly told. The book of religion has many an unturned page.

We have seen how the plant of religion has grown and altered hitherto. We saw its feeble upspringing in patriarchal days. We saw its lush and showy growth in the Mosaic ritual. The husk of Levitical forms dropped away with the advent of the Master. But did the development of religion cease with His coming? Did divine truth cast itself in fixed moulds in the preacher's words; understood at once; under-

stood fully; understood changelessly? Was the form and image of the church fixed then unalterably, as a fossil plant sealed up in the rocks forever? Were the duties and privileges of Christians then set down in immutable and complete detail? In a word was this promise of the Holy Ghost as a guide into this truth, as a teacher of the church forever, rendered nugatory before it was given?

Let the plainest facts of Christian history answer! How this Body of Christ has altered in garb, and changed in features, and lifted and transformed its aspect as it has traveled down the centuries! Jerome, Chrysostom, Augustine, Aquinas, Anselm, Luther, Owen, Edwards, saw they the same unaltered form, as they looked on religion in their successive days? Yes, as he who sees a child, and then the man, sees the same form; as he who sees the blade and the full ear, sees the same plant; so, and no otherwise.

Where, for example, do we look for a clear comprehension of one of the plainest of Christ's instructions—the law of universal philanthropy? To Peter whom a thrice-repeated heavenly vision could hardly convince that God "could grant unto Gentiles repentance unto life?" To the church of Constantine, when the arm of State was the instrument of conversion? To the ages of mediæval Christianity—passionate, intense, self-sacrificing—willing to lavish treasure and life to fight the Saracens; never thinking of spending a penny to convert them? Has not the plant of Christian love shot upward in the lifetime of some gathered here to-day with a growth unknown before? India, China, Islands of the Pacific, say!

Nor is it practical Christianity only which has unfolded. Doctrinal Christianity has changed as well. Not indeed that the body of divine truth itself—abstractly or as contained in Scripture—changes. This hardly needs to be said. But in these days of theological sensitiveness it may be well enough to say it. God's truth is ever the same and the Bible is always authority upon it. But men's understanding of what is truth, and of what the Bible really affirms, alters inevitably in successive years.

Do any of you, for example, when you meditate on the work your Saviour wrought for you, think of it as the Church

of Origen's day, and onward for seven centuries, thought of it? Do you think your Saviour entered into compact with Satan to become his slave as the condition of your ransom, and then broke his agreement and outwitted Satan in the bargain? Had you lived in Alexandria you would have been excommunicated if you had not thought so; in Rome six centuries later you might have been burned.

Doctrine, duty, polity, and Christian life, all have undergone successive changes from age to age. Men's comprehension of God's eternal plan has altered less or more with every generation which has pondered it. And in the light of so incontestable a truth, why wall we up the doorways of the future? Even if we put the word of prophecy concerning this fact aside, what could be more probable—looking at the analogy of the past—than that the same law will have its way? But when, added to the suggestions of experience, we take into view the bright predictions of God's word, what wonderful unfoldings of divine things may we not anticipate in coming years? Things are not—whatever a Judaizing and pessimistic pietism may affirm—things are not on the edge of dissolution and doom. They are growing and ripening still.

Another instruction it seems we might profitably gain is one of humility and trust in watching and working for the kingdom's approach.

Suppose, for illustration's sake, that I am—what we all ought to be—a watcher and worker for the kingdom of God. How am I to feel? What am I to do? Let the unfolding of a grain of wheat instruct me. The man who gave me the seed told me certain things of it, partly apparently to guide my expectations and partly to direct my behavior. He said, "first the blade, then the ear, afterward the full corn in the ear."

This then is the "blade;" this pale green shoot, showing hourly a deeper green and lifting daily into freer air. But how powerless I am before this young plant! How little I understand it after all. Some things I may indeed do for it—give it light, and water, stir the soil about it, and the weeds away which threaten its welfare. But how it grows I cannot tell; what its next change will be I cannot foresee. The man

said an ear would follow the blade, but what that is like I cannot tell. I can only wait and see. And while I watch, the ear comes—the crown of bristling cones. I can scarcely recognize the plant, and yet it is the same. One single life, through changes manifold. And not a change in vain. I see no tokens of mistake anywhere. And the man said the corn would come in the ear. I am waiting to see.

And as you and I, my friends, await the coming of that kingdom which the Master said was like this growing of the grain of wheat, we too have some impressive suggestions as to the attitude in which we wait and work.

We are reminded that the kingdom of God is one. A single life runs through it all. Under all its changes works a power which alters not the divine design. And there does not appear to be any arbitrary or sudden break. I see no indication of failure anywhere. The dispensation of the Patriarchs served its day. I do not see how it could have been bettered for its time. The dispensation of Mosaic law and ceremony served its end. We can partly discern its fitness and necessity. And the dispensation of the life of Christ—astounding and ever glorious efflorescence of the plant of the kingdom—this, certainly, could no more completely fulfil its purpose than it did. And the dispensation of the Holy Ghost in the midst whereof we stand,—what a wonderful period is this! I do not like to hear that it has failed, or will probably fail. Does any one know exactly what is the might of the Holy Ghost? Can any one surely say it is a might adequate to this result, but not adequate to that? It may renew a soul, but may not renew a world? O Infinite and on-moving Power! We fathom not, nor dare we limit thy unexhausted strength. We look with joy and trust to thy might in leading on, surely and apace, the latter day glory of the kingdom of God!

And it is on that power also that we rely in the patient and strenuous endeavor which is our part in this great enterprise. For we have a part also.

What is our part? Our part is not restless struggle to reproduce a by-gone, or to anticipate an unarrived period of the kingdom's progress. Not in plucking apart the unripe ear in haste for the grain. But in watching and cherishing the plant

of God's grace wherever visible in the world. In digging about its roots, and opening the soil for the heavenly rain. In caring for its welfare on the broad fields of Christian enterprise, or in the narrow field of personal devotion.

Gentlemen of this Theological Seminary, and you especially, my young friends, just entering on the work of the gospel ministry, to you is, in a manner, peculiarly given the divine function of the tillage of the plant of the kingdom in this evil world. This high, sacred, benign employment in which so many of the good and great of past generations have found their noblest occupation and most satisfying joy, is to be the employment of your lives. Called to it we trust by the Spirit of God; prepared for it in some measure by study of truth and by experience of grace, set high, I beseech you, the mark of your expectation and endeavor.

Ah, the divinely glorious mission of a true gospel husbandman! Who of us has ever reached an adequate estimate of its exalted privileges, or the dignity of its appointed work?

Suffer the word of exhortation which urges on you a truer conception of its sacred aim. To a complete consecration of yourselves to its objects I entreat you to be personally dedicated. More and more seek to make the ministry of grace in your hands all that it was meant to be for a sinning and suffering world. By individual effort, by united endeavor, by a dedication to it which grows daily more like Christ's, watch and tend, and cultivate, the plant of righteousness; till at last, its appointed changes all fulfilled, whether in the individual or the collective life, the ear succeeding to the blade, the full corn ripening in the ear, in God's set time, the wheat be garnered, and the harvesters rejoice together in the kingdom of heaven.

GEO. LEON WALKER.

CURRENT LITERATURE.

HEARTSEASE AND RUE.*—To the reader who is quick to apprehend, there is in each one of the works of a writer of genius a subtle flavor which marks the particular period in which it was written. One who can read between the lines, always finds his interest heightened as he detects the effects of the life-experiences of an author as they are displayed in each new volume. There is usually something about a first production, in any department of literature, however able it may be, which marks it as a maiden effort. Perhaps it may be only the careful precision of the style that gives it whatever of peculiar charm it may have. There is a flavor, also, which is found in the later productions of a writer, which belongs to the period when he has all his powers well in hand, when his experiences of life are fully rounded, and he handles his themes with the confidence of a veteran. All this is especially true of the works of a poet. In reading poetry there is a still further delight, if, in addition to the flavor of which we have spoken, the reader finds that the flowers, from which the poet has collected the material that he has distilled into sweetest honey, have grown in the familiar fields that he has himself long known. We may well be grateful to the poet who is able by his genius to invest evermore the scenes and characters, the thoughts and sentiments which are dear to us, with new interest and beauty.

There is a decided flavor, such as that of which we have spoken, which is to be found in the new volume of poems—"Heartsease and Rue"—which Mr. James Russell Lowell has just given to the public. We owed much before to this veteran in so many departments of literature. We will not undertake to say that in this last book he has surpassed anything he has written before, but there are here such marks of ripeness of power, of genial mellowiness of feeling, that we are sure the volume will be welcomed in thousands of our American homes as a friend. But in addition to this, the themes are thoroughly American, and are treated in a spirit that is so thoroughly American, that they will awaken a response in the heart of all who read his lines.

* *Heartsease and Rue*. By JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Boston: 12mo, pp. 218.

The Poems are arranged under the following heads: I. Friendship.—II. Sentiment.—III. Fancy.—IV. Humor and Satire.—V. Epigrams.

The themes of the Poems of "Friendship" are enough of themselves to attract attention. Among them are the carefully finished tributes of Mr. Lowell's appreciation and love of such men as Agassiz, Holmes, Jeffries Wyman, Whittier, and George William Curtis,—in every way worthy of the men. The poem written in Florence, in 1874, on hearing of the death of Agassiz, is so beautiful that we shall take the liberty of calling the attention of our readers to it.

The Poem opens with a brief reference to the ocean telegraph, and the rapidity with which it spreads over the whole world intelligence of all that happens.

The flame-winged feet
Of Trade's new Mercury, that dry-shod run
Through briny abysses dreamless of the sun,
Are mercilessly fleet.

We are then reminded that formerly the ocean gave a "short reprieve" to those on one side of it, who were to hear "ill news" from the other; and in this delay there was an advantage, for tidings, when they came by letter, were then announced less abruptly.

Surely ill news might wait,
And man be patient of delay to grieve :
Letters have sympathies
And tell-tale faces that reveal,
To senses finer than the eyes,
Their errand's purport ere we break the seal ;
They wind a sorrow round with circumstance
To stay its feet, nor all unwarned displace
The veil that darkened from our sidelong glance
The inexorable face :
But now Fate stuns as with a mace ;
The savage of the skies, that men have caught,
And some scant use of language taught,
Tells only what he must,—
The steel-cold fact in one laconic thrust.

Such were the poet's thoughts as he took up the morning paper in a far-off Italian city, and he describes the feelings with which he began to run over its columns.

So thought I, as, with vague, mechanic eyes,
 I scanned the festering news we half despise
 Yet scramble for no less,
 And read of public scandal, private fraud,
 Crime flaunting scot-free while the mob applaud,
 Office made vile to bribe unworthiness,
 And all the unwholesome mess
 The Land of Honest Abraham serves of late
 To teach the Old World how to wait,
 When suddenly,
 As happens if the brain, from overweight
 Of blood, infect the eye,
 Three tiny words grew lurid as I read,
 And reeled commingling : *Agassiz is dead.*

Then

As when, beneath the street's familiar jar,
 An earthquake's alien omen rumbles far,
 Men listen and forebode, I hung my head,
 And strove the present to recall,
 As if the blow that stunned were yet to fall.

We quote a few lines here and there from his description of the thoughts that came to him.

Uprooted is our mountain oak,
 That promised long security of shade.

* * *

A mortal, built upon the antique plan,
 Brimful of lusty blood as ever ran,
 And taking life as simply as a tree !

* * *

He by the touch of men was best inspired,
 And caught his native greatness at rebound
 From generousities itself had fired ;
 Then how the heat through every fibre ran,
 Felt in the gathering presence of the man,
 While the apt word and gesture came unbid !
 Virtues and faults it to one metal wrought,
 Fined all his blood to thought,
 And ran the molten man in all he said or did.
 All Tully's rules and all Quintilian's too
 He by the light of listening faces knew,
 And his rapt audience all unconscious lent
 Their own roused force to make him eloquent ;
 Persuasion fondled in his look and tone ;
 Our speech (with strangers prudish) he could bring
 To find new charm in accents not her own ;
 Her coy constraints and icy hindrances

Melted upon his lips to natural ease,
 As a brook's fetters swell the dance of spring.
 Nor yet all sweetness : not in vain he wore,
 Nor in the sheath of ceremony, controlled
 By velvet courtesy or caution cold,
 That sword of honest anger prized of old,
 But, with two-handed wrath,
 If baseness or pretension crossed his path,
 Struck once nor needed to strike more.

At last, all is summed up in what may be considered to be the American idea of a gentleman.

His magic was not far to seek,—
 He was so human ! Whether strong or weak,
 Far from his kind he neither sank nor soared,
 But sate an equal guest at every board :
 No beggar ever felt him condescend,
 No prince presume ; for still himself he bare
 At manhood's simple level, and where'er
 He meet a stranger, there he left a friend.
 How large an aspect ! nobly unsevere,
 With freshness round him of Olympian cheer,
 Like visits of those earthly gods he came ;
 His look, wherever its good-fortune fell,
 Doubled the feast without a miracle,
 And on the hearthstone danced a happier flame ;
 Philemon's crabbed vintage grew benign ;
 Amphitryon's gold-juice humanized to wine.

What we have quoted might well suffice to lead those who have not yet read the poem, to go to the book itself for the whole, yet we cannot persuade ourselves to omit some reference to the picture which he adds of the "Atlantic Club," of which Agassiz was a member. Of itself, this is a choice contribution to our American literature.

I see in vision the warm-lighted hall,
 The living and the dead I see again,
 And but my chair is empty ; 'mid them all
 'T is I that seem the dead : they all remain
 Immortal, changeless creatures of the brain :
 Wellnigh I doubt which world is real most,
 Of sense or spirit, to the truly sane ;
 In this abstraction it were light to deem
 Myself the figment of some stronger dream ;
 They are the real things, and I the ghost
 That glide unhindered through the solid door,
 Vainly for recognition seek from chair to chair,
 And strive to speak and am but futile air,
 As truly most of us are little more.

A description of the various members of this famous "club" follows: of Emerson, of Hawthorne, of Arthur Hugh Clough, of Cornelius Felton, of Whittier, and others, but we have room only for the lines in which reference is made to Agassiz himself.

Him most I see whom we most dearly miss,
 The latest parted thence,
 His features poised in genial armistice
 And armed neutrality of self-defence
 Beneath the forehead's walled preëminence,
 While Tyro, plucking facts with careless reach,
 Settles off-hand our human how and whence;
 The long-trained veteran scarcely wincing hears
 The infallible strategy of volunteers
 Making through Nature's walls its easy breach,
 And seems to learn where he alone could teach.
 Ample and ruddy, the board's end he fills
 As he our fireside were, our light and heat,
 Centre where minds diverse and various skills
 Find their warm nook and stretch unhampered feet;
 I see the firm benignity of face,
 Wide-smiling champaign, without tameness sweet,
 The mass Teutonic toned to Gallic grace,
 The eyes whose sunshine runs before the lips
 While Holmes's rockets curve their long ellipse,
 And burst in seeds of fire that burst again
 To drop in scintillating rain.

As a fit close, we add the lines which describe the separation of the members of the "club," and the walk home of the poet with the distinguished naturalist.

Now forth into the darkness all are gone,
 But memory, still unsated, follows on,
 Retracing step by step our homeward walk,
 With many a laugh among our serious talk,
 Across the bridge where, on the dimpling tide,
 The long red streamers from the windows glide,
 Or the dim western moon
 Rocks her skiff's image on the broad lagoon,
 And Boston shows a soft Venetian side
 In that Arcadian light when roof and tree,
 Hard prose by daylight, dream in Italy;
 Or haply in the sky's cold chambers wide
 Shivered the winter stars, while all below,
 As if an end were come of human ill,
 The world was wrapt in innocence of snow
 And the cast-iron bay was blind and still;

What is more beautiful than the parting of the friends at the street corner in Boston, where their ways diverge?

Still can I hear his voice's shrilling might
 (With pauses broken, while the fitful spark
 He blew more hotly rounded on the dark
 To hint his features with a Rembrandt light)
 Call Oken back, or Humboldt, or Lamarck,
 Or Cuvier's taller shade, and many more
 Whom he had seen, or knew from other's sight,
 And make them men to me as ne'er before :
 Not seldom, as the undeadened fibre stirred
 Of noble friendships knit beyond the sea,
 German or French thrust by the lagging word,
 For a good leash of mother-tongues had he.
 At last, arrived at where our paths divide,
 "Good night!" and, ere the distance grew too wide,
 "Good night!" again; and now with cheated ear
 I half hear his who mine shall never hear.

In the poetical preface to the volume, we are told.

"Along the wayside where we pass bloom few
 Gay plants of heartsease, more of saddening rue;
 So life is mingled; so should poems be
 That speak a conscious word to you and me."

After dwelling on these "plants of saddening rue," it seems almost irreverent to pass to the "Poems of Humor," of which there are several which are really exquisite. But, alas! so is "life mingled."

"Fitz Adam's Story," as a picture of the New Englander of the back woods, is unsurpassed. In poetry, it will serve as a companion piece to that admirable novel of Mr. Russell's brother, "The new Priest of Conception Bay," which, we are glad to notice, has just been republished in Boston.

Who has not seen "Ezra" the landlord of the "Eagle" inn?

"When first I chanced the Eagle to explore,
 Ezra sat listless by the open door;
 One chair careened him at an angle meet,
 Another nursed his hugely-slippered feet;
 Upon a third reposed a shirt-sleeved arm,
 And the whole man diffused tobacco's charm.
 'Are you the landlord?' Wahl, I guess I be,
 Watching the smoke, he answered leisurely.
 He was a stoutish man, and through the breast
 Of his loose shirt there showed a brambly chest;

Streaked redly as a wind-foreboding morn,
 His tanned cheeks curved to temples closely shorn ;
 Clean-shaved he was, save where a hedge of gray
 Upon his brawny throat leaned every way
 About an Adam's-apple, that beneath
 Bulged like a boulder from a brambly heath.
 The Western World's true child and nursling he,
 Equipt with aptitudes enough for three :

What more true to nature than this conversation ?

“ ‘ Can I have lodging here ? ’ once more I said.
 He blew a whiff, and, leaning back his head,
 ‘ You come a piece through Bailey’s woods, I s’pose,
 Acrost a bridge where a big swamp-oak grows ?
 It don’t grow, neither ; it ’s ben dead ten year,
 Nor th’ ain’t a livin’ creetur, fur nor near,
 Can tell wut killed it ; but I some misdoubt
 ‘T was borers, there’s sech heaps on ’em about.
 You did n’ chance to run ag’inst my son,
 A long, slab-sided youngster with a gun ?
 He ’d oughto ben back more ’n an hour ago,
 An’ brought some birds to dress for supper—sho !
 There he comes now. ‘ Say, Obed, wut ye got ?
 (He ’ll hev some upland plover like as not.)
 Wal, them ’s real nice uns, an ’ll eat A 1,
 Ef I can stop their bein’ over-done ;
 Nothin’ riles *me* (I pledge my fastin’ word)
 Like cookin’ out the natur’ of a bird ;
 (Obed, you pick ’em out o’ sight an’ sound,
 Your ma’am don’t love no feathers cluttrin’ round ;)
 Jes’ scare ’em with the coals,—thet ’s *my* idee.’
 Then, turning suddenly about on me,
 ‘ Wal, Square, I guess so. Callilate to stay ?
 I’ll ask Mis’ Weeks ; ’bout *thet* it ’s hern to say.’

Who has not seen the inn’s parlor ?

“ There was a parlor in the house, a room
 To make you shudder with its prudish gloom.
 The furniture stood round with such an air,
 There seemed an old maid’s ghost in every chair,
 Which looked as it had scuttled to its place
 And pulled extempore a Sunday face,
 Too smugly proper for a world of sin,
 Like boys on whom the minister comes in.
 The table, fronting you with icy stare,
 Strove to look witless that its legs were bare,
 While the black sofa with its horse-hair pall
 Gloomed like a bier for Comfort’s funeral.

Each piece appeared to do its chilly best
 To seem an utter stranger to the rest,
 As if acquaintanceship were deadly sin,
 Like Britons meeting in a foreign inn.
 Two portraits graced the wall in grimmest truth,
 Mister and Mistress W. in their youth,—
 New England youth, that seems a sort of pill,
 Half wish-I-dared, half Edwards on the Will,
 Bitter to swallow, and which leaves a trace
 Of Calvinistic cholic on the face.
 Between them, o'er the mantel, hung in state
 Solomon's temple, done in copperplate;
 Invention pure, but meant, we may presume,
 To give some Scripture sanction to the room.
 Facing this last, two samplers you might see,
 Each, with its urn and stiffly-weeping tree,
 Devoted to some memory long ago
 More faded than their lines of worsted woe;
 Cut paper decked their frames against the flies,
 Though none e'er dared an entrance who were wise,
 And bushed asparagus in fading green
 Added its shiver to the franklin clean.

But we must forbear, for we cannot transfer the whole poem to our pages. No New Englander can afford to remain ignorant of the delicious humor of this truly New England story. We will not even take exception to the description of the "deacon," for the satire is, after all, thoroughly good natured. "Corruptio optimi pessima" is true the world over?

As we write these words, the mirth which was so stirred within us but yesterday, as we followed this admirable story, is stilled as our eye falls on Mr. Lowell's concluding lines, which must carry all his older readers back to the times of the old fashioned New England landlords, who were indeed a noble class of men.

He says:

Ezra is gone and his large-hearted kind,
 The landlords of the hospitable mind;
 Good Warriner of Springfield was the last;
 An inn is now a vision of the past;

He adds:

One yet-surviving host my mind recalls,—
 You'll find him if you go to Trenton Falls."

To-day we read in the newspapers the announcement that Mr. Moore—perhaps the noblest of them all—whom so many of the first literary men of the land, for more than half a century, have been proud to regard as a friend, has passed away. To all who have ever known him, one of the most beautiful of all American places of summer resort has now lost its most characteristic attraction.

WILLIAM L. KINGSLEY.

DR. PEABODY'S "HARVARD REMINISCENCES."*—In this little volume, Dr. Peabody has laid aside all formality, and in a chatty way has given his memories of the college officers—some seventy of them—whose names appeared with his in the several catalogues in which he was "registered as undergraduate, theological student, and tutor." We venture to say that his "Reminiscences" will be read at Yale with almost as much interest as at Harvard itself.

There is a real bond of sympathy among all college men—whatever may be the color of the ribbon they wear—which is nowhere else paralleled except in the Christian Church. They are all alike devoted to the most noble pursuits. They are all working for the same object—the cultivation and extension of every kind of knowledge which can interest or broaden the mind. There can be no rivalry, in any low sense of the word, among men who are thus engaged.

Yale is known, the country over, as the "Mother of Colleges." For nearly two hundred years, she has been lending a helping hand to one and another of the educational institutions which now so plenteously dot the whole length and breadth of the land. She has hailed every advance of every kind that has been made by any of them, as an advance of the common cause for which all are laboring. But Yale has always regarded Harvard with a special interest as her elder sister. She does not forget that the idea which was afterwards carried out in the establishment of a college in New Haven may possibly have been conceived, by the men who planned this colony, as early as the idea of the establishment of a college in Cambridge. Certainly the college at New Haven would have begun its existence only a very few years after Harvard, had it not been for the special request of the friends of that college, who expressed their fears that, if two colleges were

* *Harvard Reminiscences*. By ANDREW P. PEABODY, D.D., LL.D. Boston: Ticknor & Co., 1888. 12mo, pp. 216.

established in New England, the success of both might be endangered. New Haven yielded, and showed her sense of the value of the higher education by a yearly contribution of money and material to the college that had been first begun. The cause of education was of more importance in her eyes than the carrying out of her own favorite plan; and to-day no doubt, the loyal sons of both universities, whatever may be their private predilections, are still animated by the same feeling;—ever the cause before either Harvard or Yale.

So, for more than two hundred years, the two colleges have stood in the most intimate and friendly relation. In 1700, at the time of the founding of Yale, one in thirty of the graduates of Harvard had gone there from this far off colony on the Sound, when its total population was only five hundred. And ever since, the names of the officers who have done good service at Cambridge have been known and honored here, and have been scarcely less familiar under the elms of New Haven than the names of her own instructors. No where have Harvard's successes and triumphs been more cordially applauded than at Yale.

Dr. Peabody's "Reminiscences" are of the Harvard of his youth. He has given us a charming book, and yet we have a serious complaint to make of it. The book is so full of interest that we are prompted to feel that he might have made one even more interesting. But he has certainly done enough to reveal to the outside world what a charm invests the men of a university, and in fact the whole university life. The "reminiscences," that he gives of these seventy instructors of Harvard cover only one generation of the many generations that have successively lived within its walls, and flourished, and passed away. Before the time of these men there were others, and before them also still others, no whit less deserving of our veneration. To-day, the places of these last are filled, and by men who nobly maintain the honor of their *alma mater*. A hundred years hence, too, the laurels of Harvard will still be green, and she will be even more fresh and strong than now, ever starting anew on her beneficent career. It is this confidence that memories of the past will always be accumulating and always be joined with anticipations of yet greater triumphs in the future which shall redound to the good of mankind, that makes every university a holy place to all its sons. It is certainly an inspiring thought to the graduates of every college. And to us in New Haven, who sing

Nomen, laudesque Yalenses
Cantabunt soboles, unanime patres

there is yet this further reason to rejoice, that in the future ages, those who come after us will continue to share in the goodly fellowship of the students of Princeton, of Williams, of Amherst, of Cornell, of Johns Hopkins, and above all of those of "fair Harvard."

One of the most striking things about the book to a New Haven graduate, is the fact that so much of what Dr. Peabody has said about one and another of the professors of Harvard might be said with equal truth of some one of the well known professors at Yale, with only the change of the name. Something of this kind might almost have been anticipated; but it has been certainly a curious thing, as we have turned over these pages, to find all the different types of character with which New Haven men are familiar described with the utmost accuracy.

We will refer, as an illustration, to what is said about President Kirkland. Much of it might have been written, word for word, of a well-known Yale Professor, who was nearly his contemporary. Dr. Peabody says, that when Dr. Kirkland examined candidates for admission to college, "as the students were to a large extent from the immediate neighborhood of Boston, with few exceptions he knew all about them and their parents, and his scrutiny was directed as much to the countenances, the family traits, and the indications of character, as to the tokens of scholarship. All this was true of the Yale Professor of whom we have spoken. The students at New Haven, to be sure, were more generally from distant parts of the country, but when Professor —— found a young man under examination, who was the son, or a grandson of an old graduate, or who had been "fitted" by a graduate, the interest he took in him, through all his college course, was unflagging. When the present writer was under examination, this professor found, among those who shared the examination with him, one whose ancestors for four successive generations had been graduates of Yale, several of whom the professor had known personally; and the discovery was evidently a source of great gratification. A classmate also of the present writer, who became a tutor, used to tell a story of the same instructor which was however somewhat at his own expense. He was in a stage coach, somewhere in New York, when a stout, jolly farmer took a seat, and for some hours kept the passengers in a high state of delight with his stories. The tutor had recognized him at once, as having at the recent

Commencement brought a son for examination, whom he had himself partly examined. Finding that he was not recognized, it was with keen enjoyment that he soon heard the farmer describe his late visit to New Haven. He told how he had been sent with his son to a tutor—which word he pronounced with profound disdain—who looked, he said, “as if he knew all that was worth knowing in the world.” This tutor had “badgered” his son with questions, “till the poor boy did not know whether he was on his head or his feet.” At last a bell rang, and the tutor said there was to be a Phi Beta Kappa Oration delivered, and the examination must be put off till afternoon. He had himself some special reasons why it was necessary for him to leave town that afternoon, and the tutor told him that possibly Professor —— would finish the examination at once. “So,” he said, “I went with my son to the third story of a building they called the Lyceum, and rapped at the door. Some one said, ‘come in.’ So I went in, and there sat a venerable old gentlemen, with white hair, who asked us to sit down. I told him the whole story, how the examination was not finished, and that I was afraid my son had not got along very well. Well, the professor looked over his spectacles in a benevolent sort of way, and he saw in a flash what was the matter—that my son was kind of flustered. So he just screwed himself down to the boy’s capacity, and asked him who fitted him for college. My son said it was our minister. Then the professor said that he knew our minister very well; that he was an old graduate, and a very fine scholar, and he told us a story about something he had done when he was in college that was very bright, and he made us both laugh. Then he asked my son two or three more questions that the boy could answer well enough. I saw at once what the old gentleman was up to, and pretty soon, when he found the boy had got heart once more, he gave him a book, and spoke kindly to him, and the boy just did splendid! Then he asked him three or four questions, and the boy seemed to get the hang of it right off, and answered up first rate, and the professor complimented him and told him he was admitted.”

What college has not had some kindly professor in its faculty, who answered to the Dr. Kirkland that Dr. Peabody has described. But we have entered upon a theme which is exhaustless, and we must refrain.

We can only suggest to our readers the fascination there must

be in a book that contains "reminiscences" of such men as Josiah Quincy, Levi Hedge, Joseph Story, Benjamin Peirce, the Wares, Charles Folsom, John G. Palfrey, Charles Follen, Charles Beck, Cornelius Felton, and scores of others whose names are so familiar and so honored.

A single quotation from what Dr. Peabody says of Professor Andrews Norton is all that the limits at our command will allow.

I deem it one of the great privileges of my life, that, during my first year in the Divinity School, I had his instruction in the exegesis of the New Testament. He united what might seem the opposite extremes of keen criticism and submissive faith. He carried to the investigation of the sacred writings the same microscopic scrutiny and uncompromising excision of whatever can be otherwise than genuine, which the great German scholars have brought to the study of the Greek and Roman classics. He was unwilling to take anything for granted,—to believe any thing that he could not prove, or for which he had not the testimony of competent witnesses. In the Gospels he rejected every passage, every text, every word, in which he could discover any possible token of interpolation or of error in transcription; and the books thus expurgated he received, because he had convinced himself by research and reasoning that they were the veritable writings of the men whose names they bear, and the authentic record of Him whose life they portray. With this habit of mind, I do not by any means regard it as strange that his faith was intensely strong. I have never known a firmer belief than his in the divine mission and authority of Jesus Christ. Indeed, it seemed in him more than belief; it was knowledge. I doubt whether he felt any more confident assurance of the events daily occurring under his own eyes than of those which he supposed to have occurred within the cognizance of the apostles of Christ. The truths of the Christian revelation which transcend the sphere of human knowledge, he received implicitly, on the authority of him whom he believed to be an accredited teacher from God. In this faith he was serenely happy in his years of declining strength, and passed under the death-shadow with a hope based, not on his own speculations but on what he regarded as the infallible testimony of One who knew.

It was impossible that such a man should not have approached and handled the sacred records with the profoundest reverence. Unsparring as he was in his criticism of their text, and in the rejection of much that was received by the Christian world in general, and even by Christian scholars, he always stood as with unshodden feet before what he recognized as the genuine word of God. I can still hear the echo of his intensely solemn intonations in repeating in his own version the Sermon on the Mount, or one of our Saviour's parables. He would rebuke, with a vehemence which recalled to our memory the traditions of the once strong but rigidly chastened passions of his earlier days, the student who made the slightest approach to flippancy with reference to the Scriptures or any of their contents. No man ever repeated the offence with him.

It may readily be supposed that Mr. Norton, while himself an arch-heretic in the eyes of (so-called) orthodox Christians, had little tolerance for what he deemed heresy. He was so sure of his own beliefs, that he could hardly imagine those who differed essentially from him to be both honest and wise. The transcendental school of thought, with its intuitive philosophy, found no sympathy from him. While no man felt more vividly than he, or expounded with greater fulness and beauty, the evidential value of Christ's character and teachings, he could not bear that the historical and external evidences of Christianity should be in any wise depreciated. He was equally hostile to rationalistic explanations of the supernatural narratives in the Gospels. He could get no satisfying glimpses of substantial truth in the cloud-land in which the thinkers and students of Germany are wont to dwell, and he regarded even Goethe as having no rightful place in the hierarchy of really great minds.

It is with regret that we forbear to quote what is said of Professor George R. Noyes, and of Professor Farrar.

The great danger of our country at present, which is everywhere recognised, is that men are placing too great a value on the acquisition of money. The only way to check this spirit is to convince them that there is something higher and nobler than material wealth. This is one thing that the American colleges are doing. Even for the real enjoyment of wealth, a man's ideas must be enlarged and ennobled, and his tastes cultivated. A man may become as rich as Cræsus, but, if that be all, he must necessarily remain what the Japanese call "low class." Even the glimpse that this little book gives of a society of men devoted to learning may serve to convince some that "money" is not the end of life or the highest object of ambition.

PROF. FISHER'S CHRISTIAN EVIDENCES.*—Professor George P. Fisher has supplemented the admirable History of the Christian Church which he gave to the public a year ago with a short Manual, in which he has presented an outline of the evidences of the supernatural origin of the Christian religion. There are many excellent works that have been written on this subject which are deserving of high commendation, and which are not inaccessible to the general reader. But most of these give the argument at such length that many persons who would gladly read a shorter treatise are repelled. It is to meet the wants of this class of readers that Professor Fisher has written the present

* *Manual of Christian Evidences.* By GEORGE P. FISHER, D.D., LL.D.: New York. C. Scribner's Sons, 1888. 12mo, pp. 123.

work. It need hardly be said that for the preparation of such a book he is admirably qualified. He is thoroughly familiar with the subject, and is the master of a style of unusual clearness and precision. One of the distinguishing features of the argument, as he here presents it, is the prominence given to the antecedent need of a revelation, the intrinsic excellence of the system contained in the Bible, and its adaptation to the necessities of men. He also compares the Christian religion with other religions and other philosophical systems and shows its great superiority. For eighteen hundred years the enemies of Christianity have been trying new methods of attack. The Christian church has been likened to an anvil on which a thousand hammers have been shattered to pieces. Yet every generation listens to some new objection. Hence it becomes necessary that new books should be prepared to meet these new forms of attack. Professor Fisher has considered these changing aspects of skepticism and unbelief and made a book which is adapted to the wants of the private reader or student, and one which will also serve as an excellent text-book for the higher schools and academies.

WILLIAM L. KINGSLEY.

ETHICS OF MARRIAGE.*—In this book, Dr. H. S. Pomeroy, a prominent Boston physician who has given special attention to gynecology, has presented a strongly and clearly written treatise on the ethical and physiological principles which relate to the increase of the family. He vigorously denounces what he calls "the American sin" of preventing and checking such increase as a heinous offence against morals as well as against natural and physical laws, and points out the evils and dangers which are involved in it. It is not our purpose and this is not the place to discuss Dr. Pomeroy's ethical views, but those who hold with him that there is but one aspect in which the subject can be regarded as a question of morals will find themselves fortified by a perusal of his book. The introductory notes by Dr. Emmet and by Rev. Dr. Duryea endorse the character and object of the volume, and it is certainly entitled from its professional and literary ability to high respect and careful consideration.

HENRY T. BLAKE.

* *The Ethics of Marriage.* By H. S. POMEROY, M.D., Boston. With a prefatory note by Thomas Addis Emmet, M.D., LL.D., New York; and an introduction by Rev. J. T. Duryea, D.D. of Boston. Funk & Wagnalls, New York. pp. 197.

BOSTON MONDAY LECTURES.*—A poem dedicated to the genius of medley and a prelude on the popular taste of our age for the miscellaneous is recommended to the Boston Monday Lectureship as fit introduction to its next course of lectures. One valuable feature of such introduction would be that it would not be obliged to go far for the material of its illustrations. The volume before us may be called a masterpiece in the art of miscellany. Here we have poems, prayers, preludes, lectures, addresses, questions and answers, letters, essays, and, as if the genius of medley were making fun of us, we are informed in the table of contents that still another portion of the volume may properly be called "Miscellaneous," and to crown the whole we have an appendix. In addition also to the knowledge obtainable from such vast storehouse of miscellaneous wisdom we have the felicity of learning just how often the audience applauded, and such choice bits of information as that the "hall was crowded to the roof," that "large numbers were standing at several doors of both balconies," and "that it was estimated that from two to three thousand preachers were present with many students, ladies, and other educated men," are thrown in without doubt to enlarge still further the miscellaneous character of the book. It is a hardship to be obliged to deal soberly with such a volume. The most satisfactory result will probably be attained by not trying it. There are many good things said here. But the whole enterprise is on too vast a scale for the average mortal.

TURNING POINTS OF THOUGHT AND CONDUCT.†—This is a volume of sermons preached by Dr. Whiton in the pulpit of Dr. Dole's church in Birmingham, England, in 1887. They are published at the request of members of the congregation who heard them. No one who reads them even will fail to detect the sources of the impression which they evidently made upon that intelligent congregation. The volume is small and unpretentious. The sermons are twelve in number and are short. But they are compact with fresh, suggestive, and substantial thoughts, put in a very clear and graceful style. The themes are weighty and are discussed with the dignity befitting them, but they are also

* *Boston Monday Lectures*. Current Religious Perils, etc. By JOSEPH COOK. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company. The Riverside Press Cambridge. 1888.

† *Turning Points of Thought and Conduct*. By JAMES MORRIS WHITON, Ph.D. New York: Thomas Whittaker, 2 and 3 Bible House. 1888.

handled with incisiveness and with a disregard of conventional opinion which leave no doubt of the preacher's independence and critical acuteness. One of the most interesting features of the sermons is the tone of downright reality, and of strong common sense that pervades them. In this and in many other respects they bear the marks of the best modern preaching.

RECENT BOOKS ON PHILOSOPHY AND PSYCHOLOGY.

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF PHILOSOPHY.*—This book has the great merit of being the first serious attempt to fill a distinct gap in English philosophical literature. As its author, when defining its aim in the Preface (p. iii.), assures us: "It is not an encyclopædia; nor is it intended as an introduction to any particular philosophical system, or to the history of the various systems, but to the study of philosophy itself." Accordingly, after a chapter upon the "Definition of Philosophy," we find discussed in three succeeding chapters, the relations of philosophy toward Religion, toward Natural Science, and toward Empirical Psychology. All Philosophy is thereupon divided by Dr. Stuckenberg into Theory of Knowledge (Noetics), Metaphysics, Aesthetics, and Ethics; each of these divisions is treated in a separate chapter; and the book closes with remarks upon "the Spirit and the Method in the Study of Philosophy."

On the whole, the most satisfactory chapter of the book is that entitled, "Definition of Philosophy." Here Dr. Stuckenberg sketches the slow and late development of the conception of philosophy as a discipline which, in any intelligible way, can be distinguished from the particular sciences. As a result of this survey, and "looking solely at the *idea* of philosophy, not at the actual attainments," we are told that "*philosophy is the rational system of fundamental principles.*" (p. 46.) This definition expresses the more important elements of the true conception in tolerably succinct and exact language. We should prefer, however, to have the word "ultimate" substituted for the word "fundamental," as applied to philosophical principles, and to have the whole definition somewhat expanded so as to cover, or at least suggest, the relation in which philosophy stands to the highest generalizations of the particular sciences.

The succeeding discussion of the relations in which philosophy

* *Introduction to the Study of Philosophy.* By J. H. W. STUCKENBERG, D.D. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. 1888.

stands to religion, to natural science, and to empirical psychology, seems to us unsatisfactory. Many excellent remarks are indeed found in these chapters. But they are lacking in a clear, strong, presentation of the important points brought forward. The distinction between theology and religion is not always sufficiently kept in mind; nor is it satisfactorily shown how theology and philosophy are, of necessity, most closely allied, and yet neither must be suffered to dominate the other, since they seek the same ultimate principle, though with differing means and materials at their disposal and from differing points of view.

It is well worth while to note in passing that Dr. Stuckenberg's position as to the limits and tests of philosophical truth is that of thorough-going Rationalism; it is, however, a rationalism of that *reasonable* sort which secures and evinces the chastened and cautious freedom characteristic of the genuine philosophical spirit.

The division of philosophy is no easy task. We doubt whether it can be successfully accomplished with any strict regard for system. "A preliminary division of philosophy," says Lotze, "may be attempted simply with the design of separating the different groups of problems. . . . We attribute little value to the reciprocal arrangement of these single groups under each other." In his attempt at division Dr. Stuckenberg has not been more successful than most of his predecessors,—not *so* successful, in our judgment, as he might have been if he had earlier introduced and steadfastly adhered to a principle of division which he lays down only some time after his division has already been made. The opening sentence of the chapter on Metaphysics (p. 242), affirms: "By generalizing the various objects of profitable thought, we can comprehend all of them under the *real*, the *possible* (thinkable?), and the *desirable*" (or as Lotze would say that which has "worth.")

Were it our purpose to criticize in detail the positions of the book we should be inclined to ask why ethics is made one main division of philosophy, when, as a science, it is only a department of psychology, and as metaphysics, may be considered as provided for under another division of philosophy; why, on the other hand, we have psychology as empirical considered in relation to philosophy, and as rational made a subdivision of philosophy under metaphysics; whether the theory of knowledge can be so separated from rational psychology, and from metaphysics, as to be constituted into the first great division of philosophy,

and whether it is not introductory to philosophy rather than a part of philosophy ; and why so important divisions as the philosophy of nature, the philosophy of religion, the philosophy of history, and the philosophy of the State, are either passed by without notice or relegated to altogether subordinate places.

Furthermore, it seems to us that a work introductory to philosophical study should show the reader what are the great classes of answers which the chief schools of philosophy have given to its problems, and how they have felt themselves impelled toward, or justified in, their characteristic answers. Surely such a work should at least characterize Idealism, Realism, Scepticism, and Agnosticism.

We heartily welcome, however, this earnest and helpful attempt of Dr. Stuckenberg to stimulate and guide the English student in beginning philosophy. It is likely that the book will be useful to a goodly number of readers ; especially since there is just now in this country a widening and deepening interest in philosophical study.

A SYSTEM OF PSYCHOLOGY.*—There have been few more productive writers in the general field of mental and moral philosophy, during the last four years, than the author of this treatise. Besides the two works now to be noticed, another on "The Problem of Evil" has been put forth by him during this brief period. This treatise on Psychology is among the most voluminous on the subject,—the two volumes containing almost exactly twelve hundred pages (it might be said, "*exclusive* of the Index," although this valuable help to the study of so large a book is wanting). The range of particular topics presented, and the detailed character of their presentation, account for its size. Many of these topics are not treated of at all in the customary works on psychology ; or, if treated at all, are not treated at length. For example, some twenty-five pages of the first volume are given to Language as the "expression of science," and about one hundred and thirty to the general facts of "Vegetal and Animal Life;" the second volume presents in some detail the subject of "Development in the Lower Animals," and under the heading of "Secondary Pleasures and Pains," brings in remarks on clothing, opium, books, cities, sunset, temperance, etc. This diversified mass of discussion and information is by no means all of it alike

* *A System of Psychology*. By DANIEL GREENLEAF THOMPSON. 2 vols. London : Longmans, Green, and Co.

pertinent to psychology; much of it could, in our judgment, have been omitted without loss, and even with a distinct gain, to the total scientific impression and value of the work. It cannot be denied, however, that the author deals with all his material honestly and faithfully; he has made it the possession of himself, the adjunct of the central theme, as regarded from his points of view.

Mr. Thompson considers psychology to be the science of "the states of consciousness." This definition suggests the division of subject; it also controls its treatment. Hence we have, in Part II. "States of Consciousness considered generally;" in Part III. "the Material Conditions of States of Consciousness;" in Part IV. "the Genesis of States of Consciousness;" in Part V. "the Factors of the Development," and in Part VI. "the General Development," of States of Consciousness. The several remaining Parts of the work deal with "integrations," and with the "dis-integration," of states of consciousness.

The spirit and method of Mr. Thompson's treatise may be conjectured with an approximation to certainty from the tribute which he pays in the Preface to Herbert Spencer and to Alexander Bain, who, with John Stuart Mill—says he—"have shown me the paths of true knowledge in the department of Psychology." This frank acknowledgment of indebtedness is borne out by the fact that almost entire chapters consist either of the presentation, in his own manner and with his own resources of illustration, of the views of these favorite authors, or else of a polemical examination of the views of other writers on psychology most opposed to these authors.

This book is, however, a very conscientious and elaborate treatment of the subject from the points of view held by the "school" (if it be granted that the use of this term is appropriate) to which its author belongs. To those who wish to see what can be done with psychological problems, by a skillful use of the appropriate method, from these points of view, it will well repay careful perusal. There are few readers so widely informed that they will not also pick up much valuable collateral information, and be helped to side views upon various interesting questions, while following the main path of the treatise. Many of its principal defects are due to the fact that, although so voluminous, it shows little acquaintance with the important discoveries of modern experimental psychology, and almost no acquaintance with the contributions of the Herbartian school of inquirers.

RELIGIOUS SENTIMENTS.*—This book shows that Mr. Thompson's acknowledged indebtedness to Herbert Spencer (see the notice of the "System of Psychology," given above) extends to certain of the implications and inferences of psychological science in the field of religion. The entire subject is treated in four Parts. In the first Part the nature of the religious sentiments is defined; in the second, the relation of these sentiments to knowledge is treated; in the third Part, their relation to feeling and conduct; and in the fourth, their scientific education. In answer to the question, What is religion? we are told (p. 4): "Religion is the aggregate of those sentiments in the human mind arising in connection with the relations assumed to subsist between the order of nature (inclusive of the observer) and a postulated supernatural." This answer has elements of great value; its defect is that it resolves religion into an affair of the "*sentiments*" merely. The supernatural is indeed said to be postulated, and certain relations are assumed to exist between it and the order of nature. But these seem to enter, in no respect, into the essence of religion, but only to be "connected with" it.

The author affirms that we cannot think of a world of material objects as existing without postulating a supernatural (p. 23), and that the existence of intelligence argues a source of that intelligence," "an unlimited condition for conscious existence, the potentiality of knowledge, feeling, will" (p. 74). And yet, after quoting Professor Fisher to the effect that the essential characteristic of personality is self-consciousness, he affirms that Herbert Spencer and Dean Mansel have conclusively shown that personal consciousness means nothing without limitation. The conclusion of the book is then agnostic,—not, however, so dogmatically and self-confidently agnostic as are certain other forms of the same general view. It affords, in our judgment, additional proof of the almost purely *arbitrary* character of modern agnosticism. No rational line is drawn to show where knowledge or reasonable belief must stop; the limit is left, unfixed by any scientific theory of cognition, to the caprice, or prejudice, or timidity, of each man's temporary opinion.

THE ETHICAL IMPORT OF DARWINISM.†—Professor Schurman

* *The Religious Sentiments of the Human Mind.* By DANIEL GREENLEAF THOMPSON. London and New York: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1888.

† *The Ethical Import of Darwinism.* By JACOB GOULD SCHURMAN, Sage Professor of Philosophy in Cornell University. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons.

has given us a lucid, entertaining and instructive book; it should be read by all students both of ethics and of the modern theory of evolution. He himself advises that the first chapter ("Methods of Ethics, evolutionary and other") be omitted by the general reader not interested in the logic of ethics. On the contrary we advise every reader to go through with this chapter; it will not be found tedious even by those who are not special students of the particular subject with which it deals. It is here maintained—quite the contrary of Dr. Stuckenberg's view referred to above—that ethics, as a science even, has scarcely as yet founded itself securely, and that no progress in "moral philosophy" (the metaphysics of ethics) can be expected until a science of ethics exists. We would add to Professor Schurman's description of the science of ethics as a "branch of history," that it is also preëminently a branch of psychology. Until we have a scientific psychological ethics we can have no well-founded moral philosophy.

The gist of the author's well-argued contention against the conclusions of evolutionary ethics is given in chapter IV (see p. 152 f.) Natural selection "takes advantage of the utility of morality, but no more determines its content and meaning than a positivist who passes over the essence of things." The mechanical theory of conscience regards the germ of morals as merely an action, and not—what it really is—as "*an ideal of action.*" In other words, while the facts and theory of Darwinism help us understand how men come to hold this or that opinion as to *what I ought*, they throw absolutely no light on the origin of the feeling *that I ought*.

EVOLUTION.*—In the words of its author: "The subject of the following work may be expressed in three questions: What is evolution? Is it true? What then?" (See Preface). Professor LeConte finds the answer to his first question in the enunciation of the three laws of differentiation, progress, and cyclical movement. The differentiation consists in the increasing variety of form and limitation of function, or division of labor; the law of progress is true only of the whole, and not necessarily of all the parts, except from the point of view of the whole: and the advance is not made uniformly, "but by successive waves, each higher than the last." Not only this, however, but in order to complete his description of evolution, the author is obliged to

* *Evolution and its Relation to Religious Thought.* By JOSEPH LECONTE. New York: D. Appleton and Co. 1888.

affirm that *all* these marvellous changes are accomplished by means of resident forces; in other words, "they are *natural*, not supernatural" (p. 28). The obstacle of supernaturalism, existing anywhere in the realm of nature, having been removed in these modern times by the application of the doctrine of the correlation of natural forces to life, Darwinism has been enabled to demonstrate the evolution of species by purely natural causes, through divergent variations and natural selection.

On considering Professor LeConte's very comprehensive view of evolution we find it involving various assumptions that have by no means the same evidence in their favor. When he proceeds, then,—in answer to the question, "Is evolution true?"—to affirm that "evolution is no longer a school of thought; . . . for the law of evolution is as certain as the law of gravitation; nay it is far more certain" (p. 66), he goes far beyond the point where the present position of scientific discovery can sustain him. Indeed, he seems, in some sort to suppose, that the hypothesis which derives all forms of animal life from one form or from a very few forms, of the lowest life, by direct descent, under the principles of chance variation and natural selection, is equivalent to grounding all existence in the two principles of continuity and sufficient reason.

Professor LeConte's treatment of the special proofs of evolution seems to us admirable,—clear, thorough, compact, and yet popular. Nor are the candor and vigor less admirable, with which he treats the question: In case evolution be true, what follows with regard to our religious belief? In his answer to this last question we find little from which to dissent. Indeed the principal fault to be found with the book concerns its strong overstatement of the confidence which can at present be had, or probably can ever be attained, in any theory which derives, by natural descent, all the existing forms of life from preëxisting forms. Darwinian evolution has still a great many formidable obstacles to overcome. We are willing to wait for it to overcome them; but it is as yet quite too early to think of putting it, for certainty, above the law of gravitation.

All who are interested in the question of evolution will, nevertheless, profit much by reading Professor LeConte's works.

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- II. The Spirits in Prison—A Neglected Theory Reconsidered,
F. C. Porter, Beloit, Wisc.
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No. CCXXI.

AUGUST, 1888.

ARTICLE I.—GOVERNOR CHAMBERLAIN'S ADMINISTRATION IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

Governor Chamberlain's Administration in South Carolina:
A Chapter of Reconstruction in the Southern States. By
WALTER ALLEN. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 8vo.
1888.

MR. ALLEN's history of Governor Chamberlain's administration is the first attempt which has been made to give a popular account of southern reconstruction. He has done his work well. The material which he has had at command is ample, complete, authoritative, and is well arranged according to subject matter and chronology. There can be no question that Governor Chamberlain's administration is the most interesting in the whole period of republican reconstruction in the South. To begin with, the man himself has an attractive personality. In addition to a scholarly diction and a literary merit of high order displayed in his public utterances,

Governor Chamberlain has great force and decision of character and singular administrative ability. His courageous, conscientious republicanism is proved by his words and his acts; and in respect of this quality especially no man of the times in the South was his peer. His administration was a trying ordeal. But no taint of dishonesty, no suspicion of a disreputable motive, which it was in Governor Chamberlain's power to prevent, attaches to it. By his skillful control of affairs of State, there arose such a hope of political quiet and industrial progress under negro suffrage as had never been experienced before. His administration was the best as it was the last republican administration in South Carolina. The tragic events connected with the presidential election of 1876 gave the control of the State government into the hands of the democrats, and they have since maintained their political supremacy in that State as in every other State of the South.

The portion of the reformatory period in the history of the Southern States preceding Governor Chamberlain's administration has not yet been satisfactorily described. The historical material is accessible only in official documents, detached congressional investigations, public letters, and newspaper items. The evidence is fragmentary in the extreme, distorted by the refraction of excessive partisanship, discolored by prejudiced and hasty observation. But some facts which are well attested* may be mentioned by way of preface to the story in Mr. Allen's book.

After the surrender of Lee at Appomattox in April, 1865, the anxiety of a long war waged for Union and humanity was soon dispelled, and hope sprang fresh in the hearts of the people. Political sentiment, however, immediately re-distributed itself about a new issue: How shall the rebel States be governed? How shall the results of the war be preserved? The Confederate governor, McGrath, of South Carolina, called upon the Confederate State officers, in May, 1865, to resume their duties. Their attempt to comply was frustrated by General Gillmore. But military rule in time of peace is only a tem-

* McPherson's "Handbook of Politics" series, Pike's "Prostrate State," Congressional documents, and the indexed files of the *New York Times* have been consulted.

porary expedient according to the genius of our government. Some other arrangement had to be made at once. Two plans of reconstruction were tried at different times—one proposed by Congress in 1867, and the other employed by President Johnson in the interim.

On June 30, 1865, by virtue of his authority as commander-in-chief of the army, President Johnson commissioned Benjamin F. Perry, a citizen of the State, to act as provisional governor. He was instructed by his commission to call a convention to alter and amend the State constitution and to enable the people to restore their State "to its constitutional relations to the Federal government." Such people as would take the prescribed oath of loyalty to the United States in addition to satisfying the requirements of the State laws of 1861 were invited to participate. A convention was duly held; the ordinance of secession was "repealed;" a State government was formed as soon as possible; slavery was declared to have been abolished by the war; and the thirteenth amendment was adopted. But the right of Congress to legislate on the status of the freedman was denied by a resolution. It was evident from the temper of the convention that under this government the negro, though he gained his freedom, would only obtain the elective franchise under a property and educational qualification. Acquiescence in the "results of the war" claimed by the North was not so enthusiastic and complete as even President Johnson wished. As for Congress, it would have nothing to do with the presidential plan of reconstruction. It would not readmit the State into the Union nor its representatives to seats in the senate and house. Governor Orr was elected in October, 1865, to succeed Governor Perry, who had been appointed provisionally, and the affairs of the State were managed by civil officers, though the military authority was not suspended.

More than a year passed before the quarrel between the president and Congress was concluded by the victory of the latter. In 1867 and 1868 Congress passed the necessary laws over the president's veto, and reconstruction was begun over again. The South was divided into military districts. The States were required to accept the fourteenth amendment, which contains the civil rights and the rebel debt clauses, and

to grant universal suffrage to the negro, previous to restoration to the Union. Moreover it was made imperative upon the States by these acts of Congress that all males over twenty-one who should take the oath of loyalty must be allowed to participate in the preliminary elections and conventions. The Supreme court has given a decision affecting the validity of these laws; but the acts of the States, both under congressional reconstruction and under President Johnson's provisional government, have been accepted as valid.

In South Carolina, Governor Orr assisted the military commander of the district under the new order in making the preliminary registration in the summer of 1867. The registration list included 46,800 whites and 80,500 blacks; 8,244 whites and 625 blacks were disfranchised. It was a foregone conclusion that the reconstructionists would be successful. The vote on adopting the new State constitution—on the whole an unobjectionable document—was 70,758, for—which was a majority of the total registration—and 27,288 against it. In the constitutional convention and in the new State government there was a large proportion of negroes. A few democrats sat in the legislature for the upland counties, in which the white voters outnumbered the black, but in general the color line was the party line and the native white influence in the government was inappreciable. In the known temper of Congress it is doubtful whether any success the democrats might have gained would have been permanent. There is little doubt that the old masters and friends of the negroes might have influenced the action of a considerable number at this time if the attempt had been made, and that their indifference helped the republican leaders to attach the negro vote firmly to the republican party and to prejudice it against the democratic party.

The new State officers were elected in April, 1868, on the same day that the new constitution was adopted. Governor-elect Scott immediately qualified and succeeded Governor Orr, serving two terms, until the fall of 1872. Mr. Chamberlain was a member of the constitutional convention and was attorney-general for both terms under Governor Scott. When it was altogether too late, the democrats severely but ineffectually criticized the enfranchisement of the blacks; an act which, as

statistics prove, gave the taxing power into the hands of the non-property-holding class, except that the educational tax was by the constitution a poll tax. The new officers, both whites and blacks, were called by the democrats "a mockery of official dignity and integrity." A few of the colored members of the Legislature were intelligent men, and proved themselves artful parliamentarians and makers of convincing arguments; but the negro voter and legislator generally was a very ignorant person. The attitude of the black race toward the white was that of timidity born of many years of subjection; of the white race toward the black, imperiousness. The black man had no social position but he had a vote. These facts—the negro's low social position, his subservience to the white race, his belief that the supremacy of the republican party was all that separated him from his old status, his ignorance, and his well-known weak moral sense, explain how detestable he was to the whites, and how easily he might be made the tool of those who appealed to his cupidity, or his prejudices, or his fears. A correspondent of the *New York Times* credits the notorious ex-Governor Moses with the sagacity to have foreseen, when he worked in the constitutional convention for manhood suffrage, how useful the negro voter might be made.

Now what happened in South Carolina in these conditions was a deluge of fraud and corruption. Nobody did anything to prevent the impending calamity. There was intimidation of the negro vote from the very first. The records of congressional investigating committees prove this. Those whose preëminent duty, as republican officers and leaders, was to help the negro establish his freedom and equality neglected their duty and used their position to plunder the treasury. The plundering was done boldly. Some of the freebooters were "carpet-baggers;" some were natives; some were whites; some were blacks; most were republicans. The democrats, also, never hesitated to offer bribes when they had private bills to pass; and the national republican party did not interfere in behalf of its wards.

The State owed in 1868, when Governor Scott was elected, a just obligation of less than \$6,000,000, consisting of ante-war debt and provisional government expenses. The State was

also liable for a guaranteed State bank issue and for some guaranteed railroad bonds. Then came a tremendous over-issue of State bonds authorized for refunding purposes, but hypothecated by the New York agent to secure short loans at panic rates. The Legislature, at the bidding of the ring of railroad bondholders, released the mortgages held by the State as security, without recompense to the treasury. The taxes were too high to be collected economically from the plantations impoverished by the war. Appropriations were made without reference to the revenue; and extravagant salaries, extravagant legislative expenses, scandalously large contingent expenses, printing rings, freedman's land-purchasing rings, railroad rings and bond rings, encircled the treasury, absorbing all of the State's income. Indeed, F. J. Moses, Jr., speaker of the house during Governor Scott's second term, was authorized to issue speaker's certificates without limit and for indiscriminate purposes—drafts on an empty treasury, which circulated and depreciated until they were as worthless as the maker of them; and this notorious speaker succeeded Scott as Governor in the fall of 1872. The bonded debt had then become nominally \$16,000,000. But \$6,000,000, fraudulently issued to redeem some guaranteed railroad bonds, was declared illegal by the courts, and, a year later, the remainder, with overdue interest for three years, was scaled fifty per cent. and refunded. The debt when Governor Chamberlain was elected was a little less than six million dollars.

The militia laws were so made that the whites were not willing to enlist with the blacks, and the black militia was both incompetent and imprudent. Sheriffs, trial justices—360 of them appointed by the governor—and high court officers were alike inefficient. Where the abuse of the governor's appointing power had not made the State police system incompetent and venal, the rank abuse of the pardoning power nullified its actions; as little dependence could be placed upon the civil courts. Governor Scott, Treasurer Parker, Land Commissioner Neagle, H. H. Kimpton, financial agent in New York, and Governor Moses were among the most conspicuous plunderers. Even Mr. Chamberlain himself was once indicted for complicity in this corruption. As attorney-general he had

been an *ex-officio* member of the several financial boards which had connived at the jobbery. Before an investigating committee appointed by the democratic Legislature in 1877, a former clerk of the Senate* testified that on one occasion, Mr. Chamberlain had received a bribe of \$10,000. But the testimony of the men examined by this commission was so suspicious that the indictment brought against him in 1878 was nolle. In his own defense, Governor Chamberlain absolutely denied the truth of the charges made and declared that he was in no way responsible for anything of a fraudulent character. But his association in office for four years, with these men, however laudable his purpose may have been, made the publication of his record as governor necessary for his own full justification.

In 1872, the Moses wing of the party got full control and Mr. Chamberlain retired from politics. The political debauchery of Governor Moses went beyond endurance, and there was unmistakable demand for reform. The profligate governor was unable, in spite of characteristic efforts, to get a renomination. The place at the head of the ticket was offered to Mr. Chamberlain. He consented to stand for governor on a strong reform platform and was elected. The conservative element of the republican party, as they placed no confidence in the men who nominated him, were disposed to distrust him. They ran a candidate on the same platform and with the aid of the democrats who made no separate nomination reduced the regular republican majority from 33,000 to 11,000 and elected one-third the members of the Legislature. Suffice it to say that the radicals, whose reform professions were mere pretense, were as much disappointed by Governor Chamberlain's conduct as the conservatives. Nine months after the election, the *Charleston News and Courier* said: "In the light of his acts, since he has been governor, we say now that, however much appearances were against him, it is morally impossible that he should have been either facile or corrupt. Such a man as he can never have been the man we did believe him to be." Other papers spoke as favorably.

* See the *Forum*, June, 1888. Negro Supremacy in the South, by Gen. Wade Hampton.

Let us now turn to the incidents of his administration. "How he endured all and how he acquitted himself will be judged finally by the full record, substantially included in this volume, as it shall interpret itself to the intelligence and the judgment of men capable of candid appreciation."

Governor Chamberlain was inaugurated December 1, 1874, in the presence of the Legislature. His inaugural address, which Mr. Allen prints in full, was a strictly reform document. The radical republicans resented it; the conservatives approved it warmly. It attracted wide attention outside the State. In everything for which the governor was alone responsible, Governor Chamberlain promised reform; in everything which belonged to the Legislature to do, he urged reform and promised his aid, particularly in the financial measures. What he promised on his part he began faithfully to perform, but the Legislature paid little heed to his recommendations. Nineteen memorable vetoes of the first session were sustained only by the faithfulness of the fifty-three democrats and conservative republicans who had been elected to the Legislature by the opponents of Governor Chamberlain in the gubernatorial canvass. The radicals tried to pass the bills over the veto but could not get the necessary two-thirds majority. A second message more explicit than the first, written after the annual reports of the State officers had afforded new opportunity to study the particular needs of the State, emphasized these general principles. Again when the annual tax and supply bill was in the Senate finance committee, he addressed a letter to the chairman pointing out a deficiency of \$148,000 arising from the excess of appropriations over the revenue contemplated in the same bill; and item by item, he suggested how the appropriations should be reduced. Finally the bill reached him, unimproved, just as the Legislature adjourned, and he vetoed it. The new fiscal year would begin before the Legislature reassembled and there was already a large floating debt, but a veto was the less of two evils. "I at least," he declared, "must be true to my pledges." The *News and Courier* said: "In a word it is due to Mr. Chamberlain that, for the first time in six years, there was no considerable stealing during the legislative session, and that not one swindling bill became a law."

The pressing importance and difficulty of the necessary reforms absorbed all the governor's energies. If he did not attempt to prosecute the participators in the late "self-sustaining, self-supporting corruption" it was owing to his lack of ability, in connection with other duties, to wage war on that multitude of criminals with a jury of doubtful intelligence and integrity, and a bench that was kept pure only by his own extraordinary efforts. His neglect, of itself, was no evidence of personal delinquency.

During this same session the Legislature was called upon to fill two vacancies on the bench. As the time approached for the first election, the republican members of the Legislature held a caucus to choose a candidate. A nomination was considered equivalent to an election. Governor Chamberlain entered the caucus and took part in it. He demanded of his party that a republican of ability, whose character and integrity were above suspicion, should be chosen. He boldly denounced a colored adventurer and politician named Whipper who was the leading candidate and indicated his preference for Judge Reed, a republican well and favorably known. Whipper then and there attacked him and his administration, and the caucus broke up in disorder. But Judge Reed was elected. The conservatives and democrats together were a majority in the joint convention on that vote. The second vacancy was filled with similar success. Ex-Governor Moses was the republican party candidate. After a few ballots it was evident that the democrats were joining the conservatives and that the conservative candidate would be elected again as Judge Reed had been elected. To prevent such a result, the supporters of Moses transferred their votes to the democratic candidate, Judge Shaw, and he was speedily elected. This was not the last effort Whipper and Moses made to get a position on the bench of the State.

Race troubles which broke out in Edgefield county led to another display of courage and tact on Governor Chamberlain's part. An officer sent to investigate the outrages found them aggravated, if not provoked, by the misbehavior of the colored troops, and he recommended that the militia be disarmed. It was so ordered and done—a very extraordinary and

gratifying solution of the difficulty, and one which doubtless resulted in the saving of many lives.

Such were a few of the difficulties Governor Chamberlain had to struggle against in his battle for honest government. They illustrate both the degradation of South Carolina politics and the courage and determination of the man who in every struggle was successful, never yielding an inch to the disreputable element in his own party. In former years the democrats and the conservative republican element had worked together—a powerless minority. Now they stood by Governor Chamberlain and held up his hands.

The events of the winter of 1874-5 had made Governor Chamberlain known and respected over the whole country as much as in his own State. Moreover, the centennial season then approaching was one of national rejoicing and favorable to the growth of a kindly feeling between the different sections of the country. Governor Chamberlain was an honored guest at the centennial of the battle of Lexington, April 19, 1875, and at the centennial of the Mecklenburg independence, celebrated in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, a few weeks later. Many invitations of a civic and social nature, from parts of his own State and elsewhere, he had to decline, for lack of time to attend. In June, he delivered the annual oration before the Yale Law School. Mr. Allen says of this event: "Representing a community which had suffered dreadful wrong through the ignorance and weakness of newly enfranchised citizens, and fresh from a desperate and determined struggle to rescue government from degradation by their assault, he asserted the substantial wisdom of the policy of which such happenings were a temporary consequence." To the Charleston Chamber of Commerce, on the occasion of a complimentary dinner, Governor Chamberlain said: "This demonstration of kindly feeling from the business men of Charleston strengthens me. I feel stronger to-day in the path of duty than I have felt since I entered upon the arduous and thorny pathway of governor of South Carolina." "If the Legislature at its next session," he said in public at another time, "if the Legislature will coöperate with me, I undertake to say that all our State taxation can be reduced below one

per cent. And now, who is there bold enough to say . . . that this ought not to be done? . . . And what I say of the State expenditures applies, I believe, with equal truth to your county and city expenditures." The *News and Courier* said: "To Governor Chamberlain it was left to announce his resolutions and purposes in faultless English, which serves as the silk glove to the hand of iron."

This outburst of enthusiasm was spontaneous and quite general. Mr. Allen has collected proof of its non-partisan character. Certain insinuations from strong partisan sources that Governor Chamberlain, in all his purity, was so much the greater hypocrite and instigator of rings for future plundering, fell flat.

Partisan politics did not enter into the issues of the administration until the Legislature reassembled in the winter of 1875-6. Honest government vs. bad government had been the commanding issue. Governor Chamberlain waged the battle successfully for economy and progress; and so long as there was no election to misdirect public opinion, people did not criticise him because he was at heart a republican and studying to advance the policy of that party. But suddenly a political issue appeared as it were out of a clear sky. Governor Chamberlain had visited the State university at Greenville, December 16, by appointment. He delivered there a masterly oration on "The Value of Classical Studies,"* and presented the prizes for excellence in Greek to the honor students of the university. During his absence a resolution to elect judges which, in deference to his wishes, had been laid over in the house until he should return on the next day, was taken from the table and rushed through. Whipper by a vote of 83 to 58, and Moses, by a vote of 75 to 63, were elected to succeed Judges Reed and Shaw who were expected to retire in a few months. The day of this election is known as "Black Thursday."

The recent annual message had referred to the prospective election in these words: "Legal learning, a judicial spirit, and a high and unblemished personal character, should mark every man who shall be elected. . . If all these qualities are

* Published in the *New Englander*, April, 1876.

not attainable, let the one quality of personal integrity never be lost sight of." After the catastrophe, Governor Chamberlain said: "The conspiracy appears to have been carefully concocted. The color line, the party line, the line of antagonism to my administration, all were sharply drawn. . . . Still it would have been a great satisfaction to me to have been on the spot and gone down fighting if I must go down." "This calamity," he added, "is infinitely greater . . . than any which has yet fallen on this State. . . . One immediate effect will obviously be the reorganization of the democratic party within the State, as the only means left, in the judgment of its members, for opposing a solid and reliable front to this terrible crevasse of misgovernment and public debauchery. . . . And it was my fondest hope, by peaceful agencies, here in South Carolina, alone of all the Southern States, to have worked out, through the republican party, the solution of the most difficult and one of the most interesting political and social problems which this century has presented."

A heroic remedy was needed to preserve, if that were still possible, the advance which had already been made toward the solution of this problem. Governor Chamberlain refused to give commissions to Whipper and Moses and they were never able to obtain the vantage ground for the practice of corruption which they coveted. He declared that under the laws governing the election of judges, no vacancies existed, that Judges Reed and Shaw having been elected, were entitled to a full term of service on the bench; and he issued to them new commissions for four years from the date of their appointment. The record in certain adjudicated cases furnished authority for his course, and this interpretation of the law has since been sustained. Yet Governor Chamberlain would not have resorted to this technicality if Whipper and Moses had been suitable men. The rage of these men knew no bounds. Governor Chamberlain was the hero of the better classes of the State. "We thank you and will do all we can to sustain you in what you have done," the business men of Judge Reed's district telegraphed. Mass meetings were held in many places; but the passing of resolutions urging the reorganization of the democratic party sud-

denly made some of them conspicuous in an unfortunate way. Governor Chamberlain's foreboding had proved true.

Hitherto the democrats, too few for successful opposition, had submitted to fusion with the conservative republicans. Now, newly inspired, they prepared to organize in every township; they began a desperate struggle to overcome a republican majority of 30,000 and to possess themselves of the government of the State. "Leaders of the democratic party in other States," Mr. Allen says, "were even more anxious than those in South Carolina that party organization should be revived there in anticipation of the national contest." It was undeniable that Governor Chamberlain had corrected the abuse of the pardoning power; that he had raised the character of executive appointees; that the tax levy had been reduced from thirteen and one-half mills to eleven mills, a gain to the people of \$300,000 yearly; and that there had been a saving of \$1,779,000 in the appropriations for two years for executive and legislative contingent funds, legislative expenses, salaries, and public printing, and by the bill adjusting the payment of the floating debt. The item for printing alone had been cut down from \$300,000 to \$50,000 yearly and might have been reduced still lower. But the memory of all this reform was speedily blotted out of mind. In the campaign which followed in the summer of 1876 party supremacy became the absorbing issue.

Superadded to it all, Governor Chamberlain had to fight to keep the corrupt impulses in the republican party in subjection to himself. "The approaching national election made the leading politicians of the republican party also sensitive concerning the effect of Governor Chamberlain's action. Many of them had never relished his open and defiant hostility to a section of his party in South Carolina." For this reason Governor Chamberlain was led to write to Senator Morton, at that time one of the most influential republicans in the country, saying: "The democracy of South Carolina was in perfect collapse. . . . It is doubtful whether national issues would have had force enough to have even induced a canvass of the State . . . under the circumstances then existing. Their [Whipper and Moses] election has sent a thrill of horror

through the whole State ; it has split the republican party in twain ; the moribund democracy has awakened to new life and new hope. . . But I tell you no party can rule this State that supports Whipper and Moses, and to denounce us who are to-day denouncing the election of these men is to support them."

Then followed the political conventions. The one to elect delegates to the national republican convention at Cincinnati was held early in the spring. It was the occasion of a hard struggle between the factions of the party, but Governor Chamberlain's eloquent defense of himself and attack upon his opponents, made toward the end of an all night session, so won the convention that he was elected to head the delegation from which the radicals had set out to exclude him altogether.

As the time for the republican State convention in September approached, he made a tour of the State in support of Hayes and Wheeler and in advocacy of his own renomination as governor. The tour strengthened him in the convention, and another marvellously successful speech, delivered toward the end of a fourteen hour session, finally secured for him the place at the head of the ticket. Finally, the discipline of the national party prevailed to make the republicans solid in the State. Some of the other nominations were not so creditable, and Governor Chamberlain afterward regretted that he had not forced the colored ex-speaker Elliott, candidate for attorney general, off the ticket by another struggle in the convention. But his success in compelling the republican party of the State to keep him at its head, relieved it abroad of much of the odium it had earned in six years of misrule.

Meanwhile two opinions had divided the democratic party for a time. The conservative portion, led by the *News and Courier*, recognizing both Governor Chamberlain's unswerving republicanism and his value to the cause of reform in the State, proposed that the party should nominate no candidate to oppose him, but should turn its efforts chiefly to the election of capable men to the Legislature. It opposed a canvass of the State on strict party lines as hopeless, because the normal republican majority of 33,000 on the State ticket could not be overcome except "by armed force." The "straight-outs," following the wishes of the national democratic leaders, suc-

ceeded, however, in calling an early convention of the party, and in controlling its action. A full ticket was nominated with Wade Hampton at its head,—the *News and Courier* acquiesced and the democratic party gave it solid support. The methods used in the election were those which had been successful in Mississippi, and were directed by men of experience from that State. The *New York World* said: "Are the honest people of South Carolina less desirous of reform than were their brethren of Mississippi? . . . If not, let them, by a similar course, achieve the same success." The basis of the party organization was rifle clubs formed in every part of the State. Governor Chamberlain collected information of over two hundred and forty clubs with over thirteen thousand members and owning at least six thousand improved weapons.

Even in the presence of the governor himself these clubs were demonstrative and threatening. When he was stumping the State in August and September, they appeared to demand a "division of time," and forced a hearing for their speakers on every possible occasion. The governor had defeated the worst acts of a corrupt Legislature; but against the armed democratic party he could not keep the peace. This was fatal, and was the beginning of the end of the campaign. "The blacks are timid by nature, timid by habit, timid by education. A display of force unnerves them." This conspiracy, "aimed, by the commission of crime ranging from threats of personal injury to murder, to destroy the freedom of a majority of the people and thus overthrow the lawful government of the State." "In organization, in object, in conduct, they are neither peaceful nor orderly nor within the law. . . . It is made the occasion of constant reproach that I am governor of the State and yet cannot and do not preserve the public peace. General Hampton and his followers are seeking to profit politically by uttering this reproach and declaring their ability to maintain the peace of the State. . . . The reason I cannot and do not maintain the peace of the State . . . is solely because the democratic party are the authors of the disturbances of the peace, the lawlessness and terrorism which they now reproach me with, and demand that I shall allow or invite them to suppress. *Quis custodes custodiet?* . . . You [A. C. Haskell,

chairman of the democratic state committee] know, as I know, that the republican voters of the State are not organized for successful resistance to the aggressions of the democratic rifle clubs. You know, as I know, that to call upon the colored republicans alone to suppress this lawlessness and terrorism would be to invite or precipitate a conflict, the result of which would be to increase, rather than suppress, the lawlessness and terrorism which now exists. In such an emergency my only reliance for effective physical force must be upon the United States troops."

At one time all the United States troops had been removed from the State. On September 30, General Ruger had 583 soldiers at seven stations. On November 7, there were 1,526 at sixty-seven stations in the State,—not about the polls but where they could have been easily summoned. The Hamburg massacre, July 8, the Ellenton massacre, September 16-20, and not less than fifty murders, belong to this grim chapter. Governor Chamberlain's own life was at times in danger. They have "for the most part evaded punishment by reason of their numbers and the terror inspired both in their victims and in the officers of the law. . . A constable or a sheriff with a colored posse would have been massacred in an attempt to execute the law."

Election day passed without bloodshed. The democrats relied on the effect of their previous intimidation and on frauds to give them success, and doubtless they restrained themselves a little, knowing that violence would bring them into special disrepute the country over. Events transpired rapidly. The votes were counted, as cast, by the county canvassers—two republicans and one democrat in each case, appointed by the governor. The face of the returns showed the election of the republican presidential electors, the democratic governor, and a democratic majority of one in the Legislature. The county canvassers reported the returns to the State Board of Canvassers which was composed of the State treasurer, comptroller, secretary, adjutant general, and attorney general. This body, having judicial powers and limited by law to a ten days' session for the performance of its duties, threw out the vote of Edgefield county because the total number of ballots cast ex-

ceeded by considerable the voting population, and the vote of Laurens upon evidence of similar frauds invalidating the election in that county. This gave the republican State and national ticket a majority, but made two vacancies in the Senate and eight in the House. The vote for Governor had to be canvassed by the Legislature.

The democrats asked the supreme court, in this state of things, to give a writ of mandamus to compel the State canvassers to perform the purely ministerial function of ascertaining from the county canvassers' returns what persons had the highest number of votes and certifying the fact to the Secretary of State, and a writ of injunction restraining the canvassers from hearing any contest or exercising any judicial functions whatever. The court deliberated and postponed action on these writs. Finally, of its own motion, it issued a writ to compel the board of State canvassers to count and compare the returns of the county canvassers and certify the results to the court. This was the only writ issued by the court upon the State canvassers and it was complied with. If the court had enjoined them from going behind the returns, it would have deprived Mr. Tilden of all hope of the vote of South Carolina, which was necessary to elect him. If the State canvassers, being all republicans, had been ordered to go behind the returns, the democratic control of the State might have been sacrificed also. The court was in a quandary. It was alleged, that it was proposing, by its dilatory action, to prevent the board of State canvassers from completing its work before its term expired by limit of law, and then that the court would canvass the returns itself. However the board of State canvassers completed its lawful work, deciding the contest and certifying its findings to the Secretary of State, and adjourned unmolested by the court.

The legislature met November 28. The senate organized without difficulty with thirty-one members and two vacancies. The house organized with only sixty members, including one democrat,—not a quorum of the full house (124), but a majority of those (116) who held certificates from the State board of canvassers, and a quorum of a lawful house according to the practice of congress in 1861 and according to adjudicated cases in South Carolina. The legislature canvassed the

votes for governor and lieutenant governor, throwing out the votes of Edgefield and Laurens counties, on the same evidence that had influenced the State board of canvassers, and declaring the republican State officers elected. Governor Chamberlain was inaugurated for a second term with due formality and the republicans possessed the government of the State protected from the invasion of the Edgefield and Laurens delegations by a few United States soldiers placed in the capitol. The democrats secured certified copies of the county canvassers' returns, organized a house with sixty-three members, inaugurated General Hampton, although they did not claim to have a senate, and contested the right of the republicans to rule the State.

Several months passed with the rival governments in this attitude while the attention of the country was occupied with the electoral count in Congress. At length on March 4, 1877, the day President Hayes was inaugurated, Mr. Stanley Matthews wrote to Governor Chamberlain. "It has occurred to me to suggest," he said, "whether by your own concurrence and coöperation, an arrangement could not be arrived at which would obviate the necessity for the use of federal arms to support either government, and leave that to stand which is able to stand of itself. Such a course would relieve the administration from the necessity . . . of making any decision between the conflicting governments, and would place you in a position of making the sacrifice of what you deemed your abstract rights for the sake of the peace of the community." Senator Evarts was supposed to favor this suggestion. Governor Chamberlain replied promptly: "I am wholly unable to see any line of conduct on my part, consistent with personal honor or public duty, which would permit me to yield my claims to the governorship. I am equally unable to see any course which can be pursued by the national administration toward the government here which I represent, consistent with political or constitutional duty, which will not require it to support, against violence or overthrow, the lawful republican government."

The duty of the national government in the circumstances arose under the fourth section of the fourth article of the constitution which guarantees a republican form of government to the States, and under the law of 1795 in which congress

authorizes the president to act under the constitution when called upon by the legislature or the governor. A case growing out of Dorr's rebellion in Rhode Island had been decided under this act and Judge Taney speaking for the Supreme Court of the United States had declared: "By this act, the power of deciding whether the exigency had arisen upon which the government of the United States is bound to interfere, is given to the president. . . The fact that both parties claim the right to the government cannot alter the case, for both cannot be entitled to it. And the president must, of necessity, decide which is the government and which party is unlawfully arrayed against it, before he can perform the duties imposed upon him by the act of congress."

Instead of deciding which of the two was the lawful government of South Carolina, President Hayes attempted to act as mediator. He invited Governor Chamberlain and General Hampton to a conference at Washington that they might convey to him their "views of the impediments to the peaceful and orderly organization of a single and undisputed State government in South Carolina and the best means of removing them," adding: "It is the earnest desire of the president to be able to put an end as speedily as possible to all appearance of intervention of the military authority of the United States in the political derangements which affect the government and afflict the people of South Carolina." Several conferences with the president and the cabinet and with politicians were held in Washington. Governor Chamberlain, recognizing the president's determination to avoid the odium of military interference if possible, argued: "If the government of the United States cannot properly under the present circumstances, determine which of the two contending State governments is the lawful one, the forces at the statehouse are not, in any proper sense, acting to the disparagement of the rights of either of the contending claimants, but, on the contrary, they are holding the rival parties in an attitude in which each can pursue its proper remedies and seek a proper settlement of its claims. . . . My next objection to the withdrawal of the United States troops from the statehouse is that such withdrawal at the present time, pending the decision of

validity of one or the other of the two governments, will be a practical decision in favor of my opponent. . . . If therefore the United States forces now stationed at the statehouse shall be withdrawn, they [the republicans] will regard that act, under the circumstances now existing, as leaving them exposed to the power and vengeance of the armed, illegal, military organizations which cover the State and constitute the political machinery of the democratic party. . . . They cannot alone maintain the unequal contest. I certainly cannot advise further resistance. That which would be an imperative duty under other circumstances would become madness now."

General Hampton claimed that there was no violence in the State, threatened or intended. Indeed it was impolitic for the democrats to commit acts of unprovoked violence. He said further that he was willing to submit his claims to the decision of the courts and that he could maintain the peace of the State without federal aid. In respect of this claim also it was apparent that the republicans had not the physical strength to resist him. There being, therefore, in the opinion of the president and his cabinet, "no domestic violence and no apprehension of any, . . . the president has no alternative but to abstain from interference." The order for the withdrawal of the troops from the statehouse on April 10, 1877, was issued immediately. The frauds which had failed to defeat the election of the republican presidential electors in South Carolina did throw a passing doubt upon the re-election of Governor Chamberlain; and the national administration chose to let the State fall into the hands of the democrats rather than brave the odium of sustaining the republicans by the use of federal troops, whatever might be their legal claims to support.

Governor Chamberlain immediately issued an address to the people of South Carolina resigning his office. "To-day," he wrote, "—April 10, 1877—by order of the president whom your votes alone rescued from overwhelming defeat, the government of the United States abandons you. . . . By a new interpretation of the constitution of the United States, at variance alike with the previous practice of the government and with the decisions of the supreme court, the executive of the United

States evades the duty of ascertaining which of the two rival governments is the lawful one, and by the withdrawal of troops now protecting the State from domestic violence, abandons the lawful State government to a struggle with insurrectionary forces too powerful to be resisted. . . . I have hitherto been willing to ask you, republicans, to risk all dangers and endure all hardships until relief should come from the government of the United States. That relief will never come. . . . In my best judgment I can no longer serve you by further resistance to the impending calamity." Governor Chamberlain turned over the seal of the State to General Hampton April 11, and soon after removed to New York City. With his resignation the period covered by Mr. Allen's volume closes.

At present there is undoubtedly great partisan misconception and misinformation in regard to the events of the succeeding administrations. But it is a noticeable fact, and one worth reflecting upon, that after the republican party had incorporated negro suffrage into the constitutions and laws of the southern States, they were still unable to secure the actual political equality of the black race, and that the States soon fell into the hands of the democrats, who from the first had been unwilling to grant political rights to the negro except under property and educational qualifications. Whether the democrats at the present time, in spite of, or perhaps by means of, a policy of fraud and intimidation, are going to work out the political equality of the negro on the lines which they proposed in the early stages of reconstruction does not yet appear. Such a result is not impossible in time.

But the short regime of republican reconstruction served to change the political condition of the South materially from what it was in 1867. Governor Chamberlain, though he was not allowed to solve the problem completely in South Carolina, believed that great results had been achieved. "I admit," he said, "that the State debt has been needlessly increased, and large sums of money raised by taxation have been expended in unnecessary amounts upon unnecessary objects, and that many ruthless, incompetent and dishonest persons have crept into public office. But still, over and above all these evils, we have this to show for republican rule in South Carolina: A free

and just constitution under which, so far as the organic law can effect it, the rights of all the people of South Carolina are secured ; a just distribution of the political power of the State between both the races and among all the people ; a system of taxation which is, in my judgment, as correct as has been devised in any State in the union ; a system of local affairs and local administration which is simple, convenient, and as unexceptionable as can be devised ; a system of public education which embraces and extends to all people of the State alike ; and now, after the first eight years' experience under the constitution, a habit of self-government, and to the exercise of political powers on the part of all the people of the State, which would never have dawned upon the state except under republican rule."

Governor Chamberlain's estimate is probably not overdrawn ; and the effects of the partial reconstruction of the republicans will long have an influence in the South, whether the negro shall eventually attain to political equality under democratic party government or whether the republicans are again able to take up their unfinished work and carry it to completion under more favorable auspices than attended their first attempt.

FREDERICK W. MOORE.

ART. II.—THE SPIRITS IN PRISON—A NEGLECTED THEORY RECONSIDERED.*

WHAT the New Testament writers set out to say deliberately and as the main thing, they say, for the most part, with unmistakable clearness. It is the suggestions they drop by the way, their passing allusions, the things they take for granted, that give us trouble. About these, interest gathers. Their difficulty gains for them a prominence which is in many cases undue, since the reason for their obscurity is often not that the thought they contain is mysterious, but that we have lost some simple clue to their meaning. The common ideas and presuppositions upon which all such incidental allusions in speech depend, vary from place to place and from age to age, so that it is just these things that are hardest to understand in a foreign or ancient writer. The words of 1 Pet. iii. 19, read in their connection, impress one as furnishing an example of this fact. There is here no hint of mystery or of novelty. The apostle is exhorting his readers to patience amid undeserved sufferings at the hands of wicked men. He appeals, as he had done before (ii. 21 ff.), to the example of Christ as one who suffered, the righteous for the unrighteous. He refers to well-known facts of Christ's life to show that our ills are for good and that they will end in

*Among recent writers on the subject, the following may be mentioned:

REV. A. C. KENDRICK, D.D. *Preaching to the Spirits in Prison.* Baptist Quarterly Review, April, 1888.

PROFESSOR HINCKS. *The Teaching of the Apostle Peter concerning the Scope of Christianity.* Andover Review, April, 1888.

PRESIDENT DWIGHT. *Additional Notes to the American Edition of Huther's Commentary on Peter*, Meyer's Series. 1887, pp. 747-757.

J. M. USTERI. [I.] *Hinabgefahren zur Hölle. Eine Wiedererwägung der Schriftstellen: 1 Pet. iii. 18-22, u. Kap. iv: 6.* 1886.

[II.] *Wissenschaftlicher und practischer Commentar über den 1. Petrusbrief.* 1887.

DR. E. KÜHL. *Meyer's Kritisch Exegetisches Handbuch über die Briefe Petri und Judae.* 5 Aufl. 1887.

C. H. H. WRIGHT. *Biblical Essays.* 1886, pp. 138-197.

blessedness. Christ's going to the spirits in prison stands with his suffering and death, his resurrection and glory, as one of the things that make his life for us in part an example and in part a hope. The reference must have been easy to understand. A writer would not touch in this incidental way, for the sake of illustration and the enforcement of duty, upon something unfamiliar to his readers, something which would excite curiosity and set their thoughts wandering.

This supposition is confirmed by the general character of Peter's letter. It is a practical exhortation throughout. It does not aim to instruct its readers, but it appeals to what they know, in order to encourage them in what they have to do. It was occasioned by outward distress, not by theoretical doubts or vagaries, by persecution, not by heresy, thus differing from 2 Peter. It has a decided character of its own, yet in the literary aspect it is not marked by originality. It has more references to the Old Testament, in proportion to its length, than any other New Testament writing. It stays so closely by the thought and language of certain other N. T. books (especially Rom., Eph., and James) that the hypothesis of the writer's acquaintance with these books is widely held.* In such a letter we should be surprised to find anything new or strange, and we are the more inclined to think that in the passage before us nothing new or strange is intended.

These considerations may guide us as we turn to the passage itself :

1 Pet. iii. 17-20. "For it is better, if the will of God should so will, that ye suffer for well-doing than for evil-doing. Because Christ also suffered for sins once, the righteous for the unrighteous, that he might bring us to God; being put to death in the flesh, but quickened in the spirit; in which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison, which aforetime were disobedient, when the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was a preparing, wherein few, that is, eight souls, were saved through water."

The difficulty here is apparently not so much in language as in the character and connection of the thought. How came the writer to speak of Noah's contemporaries? What is the connection of the idea here expressed with what goes before and

* Some, however, reverse this relation. (Weiss. Kühl.)

after? and what is its relation with other New Testament teachings? These are the main problems, and after all the ingenuity and persistence with which they have been investigated, it cannot be said that they have been satisfactorily solved.

Apart from differences of detail, two interpretations of the passage have been maintained, between which, as is supposed, we are bound to choose. One makes the words refer to a preaching of Christ after his death to the spirits of men in Hades who lived before the flood. The other finds reference to a preaching of Christ before the flood to men whose spirits are now in Hades.

The most obvious and perhaps the most obstinate difficulty with the first view is the mention of Noah and the men of his day. With this its advocates never know what to do. There are two general ways of regarding the matter. Some hold that Christ preached in Hades to none but those who lived before the flood. Others say that Peter mentioned these by way of example, but that Christ preached to all the dead, appealing to iv. 6. But in either case, whether the choice was made by Christ or by Peter, for real reasons or for literary reasons, it is a hard matter to account for it.

If Christ preached to these only among the countless dead, why were these taken and others left? What was their peculiar merit, that they should be so favored? for the language compels us to think of a preaching of salvation, not of doom. These men are painted in black colors in the Bible. They are not pitied nor excused. It is a bold thing to enter upon their defense, yet men have been driven to attempt it. Dr. Kendrick finds in the deluge an extraordinary judgment, typical of the last, but "not individually discriminating, fleshly not spiritual, temporal not necessarily eternal," destroying some perhaps who were not corrupt, so that there would be reason for giving them the offer of salvation in the underworld (p. 219).^{*} In iv. 6, the preaching is not, he thinks, extended beyond those already definitely named, but its purpose and results in their case are described. Usteri ([II.] p. 150 f., 161 ff.) is still bolder and thinks that the reason for Christ's

^{*} Similarly Mr. Row, *Future Retribution*. 1887. p. 378 f.

choice will appear "with perfect clearness," when we consider that history is divided into two world-ages, terminated by two parallel judgments, that of the flood, and that of the last day. The ark was the means of salvation in the first age, the Messianic redemption in the second. The rejection of the first was not so serious a sin as the rejection of the second, so that Christ was justified in offering the second to those who had refused the first. In support of this, Usteri makes much of the "mildness" of the expression "disobedient." The mention of God's long-suffering would seem to make the sin of rejection greater, but Peter must have meant to say that God's long-suffering waited only a short time (!) being cut off by the flood, so that these men were entitled in Hades to a grace which was not given in full measure on earth. That is to say, it was a time when the long-suffering of God did *not* wait. This theory of Usteri's, stated thus baldly, but I believe accurately, is a most surprising phenomenon in a work of such scholarly merit. How can one think of dealing so seriously with types and parallels, and giving them such significance for reality? In fact, all attempts to account for Christ's preaching to these men only in the under-world are utterly inadequate. Such a choice is inconceivable, and we cannot believe that it was Peter's thought.

But if we turn to the other view, that Christ preached to all the dead, and that Peter named Noah's contemporaries only for the sake of example, the choice is scarcely less difficult to explain. Why did Peter introduce just these, and why so unconcernedly, as if it were a matter of course that these, and only these, should be mentioned? According to the view now most favored (e. g. by Weiss, Alford, Huther, Güder, etc.) the occasion is to be found in the comparison of the flood with baptism which follows (v. 21), and it is supposed that Peter had that comparison already in mind, and was leading up to it. But this assumes exactly the opposite of the natural order of thought. The only natural supposition is that the mention of Noah suggested the comparison, not the reverse. The allusion to Noah's contemporaries must be accounted for by what goes before, not by what follows. According to this theory the writer's order of thought must have been something like this :

Christ was put to death,—made alive,—preached to the dead,—*the flood is a type of baptism*,—preached to the dead of that age, etc. So that an abrupt transition is accounted for by one, if possible, still more abrupt.

Prof. Hincks makes no attempt to explain the reference to Noah's age, but stops with objections to the usual attempts (p. 341 f.). Alford considerably offers us the alternative of "some special reason unimaginable by us." But we cannot overlook the fact that this part of the passage is carried out by Peter at greatest length, and that a theory of interpretation which leaves the greater part a perfectly unaccountable digression is most seriously defective.

Kühl is perhaps most successful. He thinks that the writer singled out the men of this age because they were regarded as types of fallen humanity (Mt. xxiv. 37-39), and because he wished to say: Christ through his death brought blessing to the souls in Hades, yes, even to the very worst offenders among them, and so may Christians become a blessing to their worst enemies by the way they suffer. This has the advantage, as against Kendrick and Usteri, of giving to the men of Noah's day the character they actually bore. If Christ had chosen them out for a peculiar favor, they must have been peculiarly deserving, but if Peter chose them as signal examples of the unrighteous to whom Christ did good, they may well have been the worst of all. The objection certainly has force that one who puts such emphasis on judgment (iv. 17 f.) would not think of Christ's offering salvation to the most guilty of all the dead (Usteri [II]. p. 163). But leaving that aside, there is a decisive objection to all theories which assume that Peter introduced Noah's contemporaries by way of type or illustration, whatever reason is given for the choice. It is that they are not introduced in the *manner* of illustration. In Matt. xxiv. 37 we read, "as were the days of Noah, so shall be," etc. But Peter refers to Noah's days in no such way. He simply says of the spirits to whom Christ preached, that they were disobedient in the days of Noah, as if this described them all. Kühl tries to escape this by appealing to the fact that the participle, *παρανόμοι*, has no article; and this fact certainly deserves consideration.

If "spirits in prison" meant souls in Hades, and if Peter intended to say that Christ preached only to a certain part of these,—to those, namely, who are defined by the participle as disobedient in Noah's day,—then the article would certainly be expected, or even required. The adjective participle was indeed used frequently without the article, but when it is not merely descriptive, but *restrictive*, the omission could scarcely be allowed. On this point Kühl (p. 209), Usteri ([I.] p. 28), and Kendrick (p. 211 ff.) are agreed. If we insert the article, then, the meaning would be: He preached to the spirits in prison, to such of them, that is, as were once disobedient; or, He preached to the once disobedient spirits in prison,—not to all, but only to these. But the article is wanting, and the participle is not restrictive. Kühl, therefore, thinks the rendering to be justified: He preached to [all] the spirits in prison, to such he preached [for example] as were once disobedient; or, He preached to all, yea, even to these. But this reads into the words too much that is not in the least indicated. It is true that the phrase "the spirits in prison" seems meant to include all of them, but no less plainly does the participle that follows seem meant to describe them all, to tell what they all did, "to characterize them more closely," as Usteri says. But if this is so, an inference is unavoidable which Usteri overlooks, but which Dr. Kendrick makes with boldness and consistency,—the inference that "the phrase [spirits in prison] had been for some special reason applied peculiarly to the victims of the flood. These seem to have been known by Peter and by his readers, whether irrespective of Christ's preaching to them, or because of his preaching, as the spirits in prison" (p. 220). This seems to be, however improbable in itself, a valid inference from the premises. The omission of the article certainly gives the impression that the writer considered the phrase itself sufficiently definite, not needing to be defined, restrictively, by the participle. He writes as if every one knew who the spirits in prison were, and that they were disobedient in Noah's day. The significance of this will appear hereafter.

Dr. Kendrick's interpretation seems the only fair outcome of the view which holds to a preaching to departed men in Hades. To be sure many speak as if the limitation of the

preaching to those who perished in the flood were purely arbitrary, and could have only a dogmatic motive. But why does the writer himself limit it? and how can those who claim to follow the plain meaning of the text so readily overstep the plain meaning? They demand that we let Peter say what he said, but they go on to make him say indefinitely more than he said, because what he said seems so unlikely to be what he meant. Of course the appeal is always to 4:6, but even admitting the connection of that passage with this,—and it is far from self-evident,—it is surely more natural, with Dr. Kendrick, to interpret the secondary and indefinite allusion in the light of the main passage with its definite statement, rather than to reverse that order. It is urged, again, that the idea of Christ's preaching in Hades must have been familiar, so that fragmentary references would be understood. But even admitting that it was so,—and there is no evidence for it whatever,—this would not account for the selection of Noah's age, nor prevent the allusion from being in that particular puzzling and unfit for the writer's practical aim. It would seem to require as much ingenuity and afterthought to interpret it in the first century as in the nineteenth.

Shall we, then, accept Dr. Kendrick's interpretation? There are the greatest difficulties in doing so. That the phrase "spirits in prison" was appropriated to the souls of antediluvians in Hades is sufficiently unlikely. That Christ preached to these only, after his death, is nothing less than inconceivable. We are brought, then, to this result: The stricter the exegesis, along this line, the more impossible the sense; and this is confessed by the almost unanimous effort to improve the sense at the expense of strict exegesis.

Let us turn, then, to the other general theory of interpretation, which understands that Christ preached in the spirit, before the flood, to the men of that day whose spirits are now in Hades.

Admitting that Peter speaks of a preaching simply to the men of that age, it is claimed that such a selection is intelligible only if it was made in their life-time, not after their death. The idea of a special revelation to the men of a certain age is familiar and easy to understand. Another evidence that

we are dealing with earthly history is that nothing is said of the result of a preaching of Christ to departed spirits, but much is said of the result of the revelation of God's long-suffering at the time of the flood. It issued in the salvation of a few out of the general destruction. This long-suffering of God that brought salvation might well have been thought of as the deed of Christ (comp. 1 Cor. x. 4), or the preaching of Noah and the spirit of Christ in him may have been intended (2 Pet. ii. 5, 1 Pet. i. 11). Peter has in mind, then, a parallel between the preaching of Christ in that ancient day and in his own. The two ages were parallel, for the flood was the type of the last judgment, which was believed to be now at hand (1 Pet. iv. 7). Christ's sufferings, then, in behalf of wicked men in this age, in order to deliver at least a few from a world about to perish, would be matched by the long-suffering of God before the flood by which a few were saved. Even the manner of the salvation was similar in the two cases, being on the condition of faith and through the medium of water.

Now beyond question this gives a good and appropriate sense. It is in accordance with Peter's liking for Old Testament illustrations. Above all it gives a rational account of the mention of Noah, though it does not save from abruptness the first transition, which it puts before, instead of after, verse 19. It has moreover a small but weighty following among scholars.* The difficulty with it, however, is even more obvious and more obstinate than in the other case. The view is in itself reasonable and attractive, but *it is not what Peter says*. He says Christ "preached unto the spirits in prison which aforetime were disobedient," and this cannot by any fair treatment be made to mean, "He preached to those who are now spirits in prison, when they were once disobedient." Schweizer admits the difficulty for he would like to change the text, and though he professes that it is not necessary, he does not succeed in proving it.

We have then two theories, of which the first is better grounded exegetically, but yields statements which cannot be put into a consistent and reasonable connection with one an-

* Apart from minor differences, Schweizer, von Hofmann, von Soden, C. H. H. Wright, Salmond.

other, while the second gives an appropriate course of thought, but does unwarrantable violence to the writer's language. This leaves us in a serious dilemma. What seems to be said can scarcely have been meant, and what might well have been meant is not said. This is the more puzzling in view of what was said at the outset; for it seems certain that the apostle has here expressed clearly a definite and evident thing. It is surely far more likely that we have lost the simple key to the passage, than that he made the lock hopelessly intricate.

Under these circumstances it seems strange that a suggestion made by Baur* has been thought worthy of so little attention. Both the theories hitherto considered have taken for granted that "the spirits in prison" meant the souls of departed men in Hades. Baur denies this and says that the reference is to the sinful angels of whom it is said, in 2 Pet. ii. 4, that God cast them down to Tartarus, and committed them to pits (or chains) of darkness, to be reserved unto judgment. They are the angels who, in Gen. vi. 1-4, fell away from God, and became the cause of so great corruption that the whole time from the fall of the angels to the coming of the flood was described as the period "when the long-suffering of God waited." To these spirits in their prison-house Christ went and preached, after he had preached to men in the flesh, and before he was exalted above all angels in heaven (v. 22).

Leaving for later remark the details of Baur's view, which were not very thoroughly, nor, in some respects, very happily, worked out, I wish now to consider the passage anew in the light of this suggestion.

The original meaning of Gen. vi. 1-4, it is beyond our purpose to discuss. That a fall of angels is there recorded which resulted in a race of giants and an age of violence and corruption, is the opinion of most modern scholars, including Dillmann and Delitzsch. The matter of importance for us, however, is that this was the prevalent interpretation in the last two centuries before Christ, and in the first century after.† Accepting the

* Theol. Jahrbücher 1856, p. 214-219, and Neutest. Theologie, p. 291-298.

† See, for example, LXX, Alex. text; Josephus, Ant. 1, 8, 1; Philo, *De gigantibus*.

narrative in this sense, curious questions would naturally arise as to the fate of the angels whose sin had consequences so far-reaching and tragical. These guilty spirits must, it would be thought, have received at God's hand a punishment answering to that visited upon men in the flood. Thus arose an account of the fate of the angels which, in its main features, gained wide currency and even found its way into the New Testament. It is found recorded first in the Book of Enoch, where, after an account of the fall and of the corruption with which the world was filled, we read that an angel was sent to warn Noah of the impending deluge, and others to bind the fallen spirits and imprison them until the end of the world, when they, together with wicked men, should be judged and punished.*

"And again the Lord spoke to Rufael: Bind Azazel [leader of the sinning angels] hand and foot, and put him in the darkness; make an opening in the desert, which is in Dudael, and put him there. And lay upon him rough and pointed rocks, and cover him with darkness that he may remain there forever, and cover his face that he may not see the light! And on the great day of judgment he will be cast into the fire" (x. 4-6).

The other angels are given into the hands of Michael who is told to

"bind them under the hills [*Greek*, in the ravines] of the earth for seventy generations, till the day of their judgment and of their end, till the last judgment has been passed for all eternity. And in those days they will be led to the abyss of fire, in torture and in prison they will be locked for all eternity" (x. 12, 13).

The place of their temporary detainment is described elsewhere as "an abyss of the earth," "narrow and deep and terrible and dark" (lxxxviii. 1, 3).

This then was the fate of the angels, a preliminary imprisonment from the time of the flood, and a final punishment at the end of the world. The summary mention of them in Jude corresponds with this perfectly. "And angels which kept not their own principality, but left their proper habitation, he hath kept in everlasting bonds under darkness unto the judgment of the great day" (v. 6; similarly 2 Pet. ii. 4).

Now if one wished to refer to these fallen angels he could scarcely find words better fitted to describe them than those of

* See Schodde's "Book of Enoch." Andover, 1882.

1 Pet. iii. 19, 20, "the spirits in prison, which aforetime were disobedient, when the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah." Whether Peter intended it or not, his language is singularly well adapted to this reference. These were spirits, and they were in prison; for though the Book of Enoch uses the word *prison* for the place of their final punishment (x. 13 [Greek, *δεσμωτήριον*] xxi. 10), yet the abyss, narrow and deep and dark, in which they are already provisionally bound, deserves the name no less, and in fact we find it called so, by inference, in the Book of Jubilees (x. 4, Schodde's edition).^{*} In Jude 6 and 2, Pet. ii. 4 the word is not used, but the reality is described.

Again "disobedient" is the right word to describe the angels' sin. It was an overstepping of their proper bounds, as Jude indicates, a transgression of the law of their being. The Book of Enoch elaborates this thought (ch. xv.). In a later addition to the book the fall is thus described: "Some from the heights of heaven departed from the word of the Lord. And, behold, they committed sin, and departed from the law" (cvi. 13, 14). So in the Book of Jubilees they are spoken of as sinning "against the commandments of their law" (vii. 17). Disobedience was thus conceived to be the essence of their fault, and we can not give weight to Usteri's objection that the word is "much too mild" for this use ([I.] p. 23). Indeed he admits that the word is not mild in 1 Pet. ii. 8 and iv. 17.

That the time of the disobedience is precisely indicated as "in the days of Noah," goes without saying. But the reference to the period of God's long-suffering is also very apt, as may be seen by noting the position of Gen. vi. 3 (comp. vv. 2 and 4).

Not only do the individual words seem perfectly suited to the proposed meaning, but so also does the form of the sentence in two striking particulars. The omission of the article, already discussed, becomes entirely natural if Baur's view is right. "The spirits in prison" would be of itself a sufficiently distinctive phrase. There were no other imprisoned angel-spirits to be thought of but those who disobeyed in the

^{*} We cannot, indeed, rest much in matters of detail upon the language of books of which the original has been lost.

days of Noah. It is no longer strange that Peter should speak as if every one knew who "the spirits in prison" were, and that they were—all of them—disobedient before the flood. The words quoted from Dr. Kendrick are strikingly confirmatory of this view. One can hardly help finding here an argument of decidedly positive force.

Again the expression "spirits . . . which aforetime were disobedient" certainly suggests that the spirits were already spirits when they disobeyed. It would have been perfectly easy to say "spirits *of men* who were once disobedient," if that had been meant. But if spirits were in fact intended, and not men, the expression as it stands is perfectly appropriate.

We have already seen that if the reference is to the souls of men in Hades, the transition to Noah and the flood is a perfectly unaccountable digression. With the view we are now considering, on the contrary, the transition is natural, and indeed almost inevitable. It was precisely in the days of Noah that the angels sinned, and their fall and imprisonment were inseparably associated with the coming of the flood. This is a decisive reply to the only remark which Huther thinks it necessary to make on Baur's interpretation, that it "is sufficiently contradicted by v. 20." It is also an answer to Prof. Hinck's objection that "the writer's assigning them a place in human history seems a positive proof that they are human beings" (p. 338). In fact the angels' deed had a most intimate connection with human history, a definite place in it and an important bearing upon it.

The language is certainly well adapted to describe the fallen angels, but, still further, it is not well adapted to the meaning usually taken for granted. "Spirits" would not suggest to a Jew, or to an early Christian, the souls of departed men, nor would "prison" suggest Hades.

The word *spirit* is constantly used in the Bible of super-human beings, evil beings, usually, unless otherwise defined, as in Heb. i. 14, (e. g. Mk. ix. 20, Lu. ix. 39, Acts xvi. 18, plural Mt. viii. 16, xii. 45, Lu. x. 20, comp. 1 Sam. xvi. 23, 1 Ki. xxii. 21, more generally in Acts xxiii. 8, 9, Lu. xxiv. 39.) Living men are never called spirits, though they are often called souls (1 Pet. iii. 20, Acts ii. 41, vii. 14, comp. Rom. xiii. 1, and

very often in O. T.). The question whether the dead are called spirits or souls must now be considered. The words *spirit* and *soul* (*πνεῦμα* and *ψυχή*) in the New Testament, get their meaning from the corresponding words in the Old (*ruach* and *nephesh*). Although they are often used interchangeably when man's inner life in general is spoken of, and though they are not to be distinguished with the trichotomists as two substances, yet beyond certain narrow limits they are not used without discrimination.* Spirit is the breath of God, the common source and condition of all life. Soul is the individual, personal being, that which, in each man, says *I*, the subject of the conscious life. The spirit is that which gives life, the soul is that which lives (1 Cor. xv. 45). At the in-breathing of God's breath, man becomes, not a spirit, but "a living soul" (Gen. ii. 7). The spirit springs from God, points back to him, is divine in its nature. The soul is given indeed by God, but becomes the man's own, the man's self. A man *is* soul, he *has* spirit (comp. Job xxvii. 3). Soul repeatedly stands for the personal pronoun, spirit, never. Death is called a giving up of the spirit (Jn. xix. 30), or of the soul (Acts xv. 26, comp. (Mt. xx. 28), but not in the same sense. The spirit is never said to die or to be killed, though this may be said of the soul (Mt. x. 28, Mk. iii. 4, comp. Num. xxiii. 10, Ezek. xiii. 19). At man's death God is said to "gather unto himself his spirit and his breath" (Job xxxiv. 14, comp. Ps. civ. 29), or the spirit is said to return to him who gave it (Eccles. xii. 7, comp. Lu. xxiii. 46, Acts vii. 59); but the soul is not said to go to God at death. It is given up, required of man (Lu. xii. 20), lost (Mt. x. 28, Lu. ix. 25). When the spirit that gives life departs, the man, that is the soul, dies. But this does not mean that it is annihilated. There is a shadowy existence in Hades, and out of this one may be raised to new life if God gives his spirit again. But Hades is the place of the dead, not of the living, and a Jew's hope was not continuance in it, but deliverance out of it.

We come then to the main question whether men after death, in the underworld, could be designated by the words *spirit* and

* See especially Cremer, *Wörterbuch*, 4 aufl. 1886, and his article "Geist des Menschen," in Herzog, 2d ed.

soul, or by either of them. In the Old Testament neither word is directly so used. The deceased are called "the dead" (Ps. lxxxviii. 11 [10], cxv. 17 etc.), "they that go down into the pit" (Ps. lxxxviii. 5 [4], Isa. xxxviii. 18, etc). The technical term *Rephaim*, "the weak," (R. V. margin, "shades,") is used a few times (e. g. Isa. xxvi. 14, Ps. lxxxviii. 11 [10]). The LXX translators had already lost the meaning of this word. More commonly the dead were described as they were when on earth (Is. xiv., Job iii. 14-19, Ezek. xxxi., xxxii.). That they are not called spirits is only natural. It was because the spirit left them that they died, and spirit, as the breath of God and the source of life, cannot die and has no place in the realm of the dead. The soul, however, as the man's individual self, must, it would seem, be thought of as in Hades, if there is to be any continuance of personal existence there. Wendt thinks usage justifies the inference. He says, "when the conception of a continued existence of the departed in Sheol, remote altogether from the divine presence, is expressed, it is the *nephesh* (soul) that is the subject of that shadowy sad existence."* For this he refers to Ps. xvi. 10, xxx. 4 [3], xlix. 16 [15], lxxxvi. 13. (So Oehler and others.) But these passages are not conclusive. When the Psalmist says, "thou hast brought up my soul from Sheol," he means, "thou hast kept me alive" (xxx. 4). To deliver one's soul from the hand of Sheol, is simply "to live and not see death" (Ps. lxxxix. 49 [48], comp. Prov. xxiii. 13, 14). Such expressions do not imply that the soul is still called soul in Sheol, any more than the expression "to save oneself from death" implies that one will still be himself after death.

In the Old Testament, then, the dead in Hades are certainly never referred to as spirits, and never directly as souls. The spirit does not enter Hades, and it is doubtful whether the soul, as such, does.

Cremer, however, following the usual opinion, gives it as one of the distinctions in the use of the two words "that the dead are designated as spirits, Lu. xxiv. 37, 39, Acts xxiii. 8, f., Heb. xii. 23, 1 Pet. iii. 19, while on the contrary the souls of the

* Wendt, *Die Begriffe Fleisch und Geist*, etc., quoted in Dickson's "St. Paul's Use of the Terms Flesh and Spirit," p. 417.

dead are indeed spoken of [?], but they themselves are not, like the living, called souls." Soul designates always the individual existence in this world, never in the condition brought about by death. "So that the peculiar distinction seems to result that the living were called souls, and the dead, spirits" (Herzog^s V., p. 3). This is indeed peculiar, and we do not wonder that Cremer leaves it hastily with the remark that it has "simply nothing at all to do with the relation of spirit and soul, or with the word *spirit* in its psychological significance." In fact this supposed distinction does not agree with the relation of the two words as Cremer himself defines it, agreeing with many others, namely, that "while soul serves for the designation of the individual, the subject of the life, spirit is never used of the subject itself, is never the designation of the individual as such. *Spirit, as independent subject, is always another than the human spirit.*"

But what of the passages which compel Cremer, against his will, to think that the dead were called spirits? Lu. xxiv. 37, says that when Christ suddenly appeared to his disciples, after his resurrection, "they were terrified . . . and supposed that they beheld a spirit." But did they think of a human spirit from Hades? So Meyer says, but it is surely more natural to find here no exception to common usage. They thought, as it would seem, of a being not human, a spirit by nature, not by the misfortune of death. Christ's words (v. 39), "a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye behold me having," seem meant to describe, not a being violently deprived of flesh and bones by death, but one whose nature it was to be without them. The word "apparition," or "spectre," in a related passage (Mt. xiv. 26), points to something superhuman. And in Job iv. 15, the word *spirit* is probably used in the same way.

In Acts xxiii. 8, we read, "the Sadducees say that there is no resurrection, neither angel, nor spirit: but the Pharisees confess both," they confess, that is to say, on the one hand, the resurrection, and, on the other, angel and spirit, these two being thought of together (Meyer). Spirit seems to be used here as the more general term for all bodiless beings. But it is certainly not necessary, with Meyer, to go beyond what is written and affirm that to the category of spirits belonged the spirits of

the departed. We need only to bear in mind Cremer's statement that "spirit, as independent subject, is always another than the human spirit," and to note that in the following verse the spirit here thought of is undeniably an independent subject, having, moreover, like the angel, more than human knowledge.

In Heb. xii. 23, we read of "the spirits of just men made perfect." In regard to this expression, of which much is made, two things are to be noted, (1) that the spirits are here clearly defined as the spirits of men, (2) that *they are not in Hades but in heaven*, which makes a very great difference. They might there be called spirits, but they would no longer be called dead, nor in prison. This passage certainly does not prove that "spirits" alone, may mean souls of the dead in the underworld.

We are left then with the passage in Peter. If this had not seemed so unambiguous, the others would surely not have been accepted as proving that the dead were called spirits.

Are they then called souls in the N. T.? Rev. vi. 9, and xx. 4, are appealed to. The representation is so far symbolical that it is not easy to get the writer's underlying conception. But at all events the scene here again is not in the region of the dead, but, in one case, in heaven, in the other, in the Messianic kingdom. There is left only Acts ii. 27, a quotation of Ps. xvi. 10, already mentioned. It is significant that the word *soul* is omitted in verse 31 [R. V.] Yet it would appear from this passage that souls could be spoken of as in Hades. We may at least say of the New Testament as of the Old, that the use of the word *souls* for the dead in Hades cannot be denied so positively as the use of the word *spirits*, for the argument against the latter usage does not rest on the meaning of a few passages, but on the fundamental Biblical conception of the nature of the spirit in man. It was divine in its origin, and was the source of man's life. It could be said, "The soul that sinneth, it shall die" (Ezek. xviii. 4). But the spirit could neither sin nor die.

As a result of the study of this word, we seem justified in claiming a high degree of probability for three negative assertions: (1) that the spirit of man is never spoken of simply as spirit, whether during his life or after his death; (2) that man's

spirit does not go into Hades ; (3) that spirits could not be referred to as dead, (against the supposition that 1 Pet. iv. 6, refers to iii. 19).

The word "prison" (*φυλακή*) is used nowhere else in the Bible for Hades. In Rev. xx. 7, it is the abyss in which Satan was bound for a thousand years (comp. vv. 1-3). In Isa. xxiv. 21, 22, it is used (LXX. *δεσμωτήριον*) of the place of the temporary confinement of angel-princes whom God had overthrown. Mr. Wright (p. 165ff.) appeals to this passage as an example of the use of "prison" for the place "in which the unrighteous dead are thought of as awaiting their final doom and punishment." But it is evident that the superhuman beings, "the high ones on high," are foremost in the prophet's mind, and that his language is adapted to them, while "the kings of the earth" only share the downfall and imprisonment of their heavenly patrons. The "prison" here is not Hades, where the dead are gathered, but a place where angels are confined. Hades does indeed have gates (Job xxxviii. 17, Mt. xvi. 18), and keys (Rev. i. 18), but these rather symbolize the mystery and the strength of death, than indicate a place from which men might try to escape. There is no talk of binding the dead, as angels are bound (2 Pet. ii. 4, Jude 6, Rev. xx. 1, 2), perhaps because death itself brought men such weakness and loss. Only spirit-beings needed chains and a prison-house, and only after the resurrection and the last judgment did the wicked go to the place "prepared for the devil and his angels" (Mt. xxv. 41). It is to be noted, however, that in 2 Pet. ii. 9 the wicked are spoken of as kept "under punishment unto the day of judgment," with evident reference to the keeping of the angels in verse 4. So that we should conclude that the place of the wicked dead might perhaps have been called a prison, but that it is certainly not the natural suggestion of the word.

We must conclude, then, that the words before us are not well adapted to describe the souls of departed men, that they are well adapted to describe the fallen angels of whom we read in the Book of Enoch, and that this adaptation extends both to the individual words and to the structure of the sentence.

But can we fairly assume that the Book of Enoch, or the

narrative of the fall of the angels which it contains, was familiar to Peter and to his readers? The book originated in the latter half of the second century B. C., and received numerous additions during a century or more. It was not a private writing, but rather a collection of the wisdom of certain religious circles. There is abundant evidence of its influence upon Jewish thought. Jude gives direct evidence, and 2 Peter indirect, that it was known and read by early Christians, which of course does not mean that they regarded it as sacred scripture. Dillmann (Enoch, p. LV.) finds other traces of it in the N. T. and thinks that the express testimony of Jude would not be necessary to convince us that the book was read in the circles out of which the first Christians came. It is clear that the book was much in use among the Jews of the first Christian century (see Book of Jubilees and Testaments of XII. Patriarchs), and though its interpretation of Gen. vi. was afterwards rejected by orthodox rabbins, it reappears, unchanged, in the Cabbalistic writings.* The early currency of the book is shown by the fact of a Greek translation, of which the only parts now extant contain the account of the fall of the angels with which we are concerned. It may fairly be said that if allusions occur in the New Testament for which no point of connection is found in the Old, the Book of Enoch is precisely the most natural place in which to look for their explanation. But the account of the fallen angels, including their preliminary imprisonment, probably did not originate with this book, but was presupposed by it as familiar (Dillmann, p. XXXIV). It was common property, apart from direct knowledge of the book, and could be familiarly alluded to, as it is by Jude (v. 6).

Admitting that such an allusion is possible, there is nevertheless a difficulty in supposing that it is to be found in the passage before us. In the book of Enoch nothing is said of a possible deliverance of the angels from their prison, but they are to be kept there until the judgment, a representation which Jude and 2 Peter follow. Usteri ([I.] p. 22) thinks this a decisive objection to Baur's theory. Baur himself admitted that

* See Delitzsch and Dillmann on Gen. vi. 1-4. Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus*, App. XIII., and especially Grünbaum, in *Zeitschrift d. Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, xxxi. pp. 281 ff.

the angels were incapable of redemption, and inferred that the preaching could be only an announcement of judgment; but this view is excluded by the use of the word elsewhere for a preaching of the gospel, and by the general thought of the passage. The objection stands then that there is in Peter's allusion an element not to be found in the Book of Enoch, and contradictory to what is found there. The idea of the angels' changing for the better was not, indeed, entirely foreign to Jewish thought, for in a late addition to the book there is a hint that the preliminary judgment of the angels will be for their healing (lxvii. 13). The prevailing thought is, however, that their case is hopeless, that they await judgment without mercy (xii. 5, 6, xiv. 5, xvi. 4). Yet the conception is not that they are by nature incapable of change, but that their sin was too great to be forgiven. This appears clearly in ch. xii-xvi. Through Noah they petition God for forgiveness, which is denied them on account of the enormity of their crime. These spirits were not demons, evil by nature, not angels of Satan (Mt. xxv. 41, Rev. xii. 7, 9), not the hostile powers whom Paul describes (Eph. vi. 12), but angels created pure and of high dignity, who had fallen by a deed of sin, had become "subject to Satan" (Enoch liv. 6), and were under just condemnation. That is, *their case corresponded precisely in the spirit-world to the case of man on earth.** This correspondence is not accidental nor insignificant. It was a characteristic of later Jewish thought to conceive that whatever happened on earth was matched by an event in the spirit-world. Even in the Old Testament we find the thought that every nation has its angel-prince whose deeds and fortunes answered to those of the nation, and in some sense determined them.† In like manner the individual had his representative and counterpart in the invisible world (Mt. xviii. 10, Acts xii.

* The idea that Satan and his angels fell from original holiness is not to be found in the Bible. The conception of Lu. x. 18 is very different (comp. Rev. xii. 9, Jn. xii. 31). "The devil sinneth from the beginning" (1 Jn. iii. 8). "He was a murderer from the beginning" (Jn. viii. 44). Satan was never an angel of light, though he can assume the form of one (2 Cor. xi. 14). There is no reference to such a fall in Jn. viii. 44, 1 Tim. iii. 6, 2 Pet. ii. 4, or elsewhere.

† See Deut. iv. 19, xxxii. 8, LXX., Isa. xxiv. 21. ff., Dan. x. 18, 20, 21, and comp. Sirach xvii. 14 (17), Jubilees xv. 18, xxxv. 21, Enoch lxxxix. 59, ff.

15). It is not improbable that "the angels of the churches" in Rev. i-iii. are to be understood in the same way. Heaven was not at first the place of future blessedness, but the place where that which was to be on earth was first transacted or prepared (comp. Rev. iii. 12, xxi. 2, 10). The on-goings of the spirit-world and of the visible world answered to one another and were mysteriously and intimately related.

This thought is developed in the Parables of Enoch (contained chiefly in chap. xxxvii.-lxiv., lxix.), a production which differs widely from the main book in character, in occasion, and in ideas. In this book, the Jewish origin of which I shall take for granted (so Schürer, Dillmann), the Messiah is depicted as coming to judge the world and establish God's kingdom. He is judge of the righteous (lxii. 3) and of the wicked (xlv. 6, etc.) among men, and of the holy (lxi. 8) and the wicked (lv. 4) among angels. The wicked spirits whom he judges are none other than the disobedient of Noah's day. So that in this Jewish book the Messiah is brought into connection with the sinning angels, and his relation to them is the same as to fallen and sinful men. In both cases he is the judge. The parallelism is clearly in the writer's mind (comp. lv. 4, lxix. 27).

Now the most fundamental distinction between the Jewish and the Christian Messiah lay in the fact that the Christian Messiah was a saviour of sinners. He will come again as judge, but he came first as saviour. Jewish thought, in spite of Isa. liii., had not risen to this conception. If, then, the Christian Messiah, the saviour from sin, were to come into connection with the world of spiritual beings, it must be that his relation to them would correspond with his relation to men, that he would do a saving work in the spirit-world among those whose case answered to that of man on earth, who had fallen from purity into sin, and were under condemnation, awaiting judgment. That Peter had in mind such a parallelism between the two worlds is suggested by the form of the sentence. In the flesh Christ labored for men of flesh, in the spirit for spirits, in like need. The thought would be in entire accord with Jewish presuppositions on the one hand, and with the new Christian truth on the other. It is hard to see why it should seem impossible, or give offense; why it should not commend itself as true.

This seems to answer the objection that the Book of Enoch does not think of a deliverance of the fallen angels as possible. Certainly the book does not, and could not, account for the distinctively Christian element in Peter's allusion. For points of contact with this we must look to Christian sources.

The importance of the place given to angels in the New Testament, and the closeness of their relation to Christ and his work, are often overlooked. They are present at the beginning and end of his life, and at crises in it. They are ready in multitudes for his service (Mt. xxvi. 53). They will accompany him when he returns (Mt. xxiv. 31, xxv. 31, 2 Thes. i. 7). He is superior to them (Heb. i, ii), and their head, as he is the head of humanity (Eph. i. 10, cf. Jn. i. 52 (51)). In him and through him and unto him were they, like men, created (Col. i. 16). Even demons recognize and fear him (Mt. viii. 29), and over them he triumphs (Col. ii. 15, 1 Jn. iii. 8). At his resurrection he is exalted as ruler over all heavenly, as well as earthly, powers (Eph. i. 21, f., 1 Pet. iii. 22). But his relation to the angels is more than that of head and Lord. His redeeming work has significance for them. Not only do they witness and rejoice in it (Lu. ii. 9 ff., xv. 10), but it is to them, as well as to men, a revelation of God's wisdom. "Angels desire to look into" the things that the gospel declares (1 Pet. i. 12), and the preaching of it was even to the intent that God's wisdom might be made known "unto the principalities and the powers in the heavenly places" (Eph. iii. 10). That this knowledge involved for them, as for men, confession and service, is evident from Phil. ii. 9-11. "God highly exalted him, and gave unto him the name which is above every name; that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven and things on earth and things under the earth, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord." That this universal confession of Christ is brought about among angels, as among men, not simply by an overpowering of resistance, but in part by a redeeming work, seems to be indicated in Col. i. 20, where it is said to be the good pleasure of God through Christ "to reconcile all things unto himself, having made peace through the blood of his cross; through him, whether things upon the earth or things in the heavens." It is difficult, without violence to the words,

to avoid the conclusion that Paul speaks here of a reconciliation, "a changing from enmity to friendship," in the heavenly as well as in the earthly sphere.

In view of these passages it can not be considered a thought strange or contradictory to the New Testament, that the gospel should be preached to angels for their salvation. There is indeed in all this nothing of an appearing of Christ to angels with the message of redemption, though such an appearing could no longer seem out of place. It is possible, however, that in 1 Tim. iii. 16, there is mention of such a visitation.

"He who was manifested in the flesh,—justified in the spirit,—
seen of angels,
Preached among the nations,—believed on in the world,—
received up in glory."

The phrase "seen of angels" in this ancient hymn or confession has given no little trouble. *ἀφ' ὧν* does not mean simply "was seen," but "was revealed," "appeared," "showed himself" (Huther, Thayer, etc.). It is used repeatedly of the appearances of Christ after his resurrection (Lu. xxiv. 34, 1 Cor. xv. 5-8, etc.). We must think, then, of a deed of Christ, a going and appearing to angels, as he appeared to Peter or to Paul.* But the deed is not elsewhere recorded. Huther thinks that the ascension is meant, but the parallelism of the two parts of the verse does not justify this. It is true that the first two statements in each half relate to earthly life, while the last goes into the spiritual sphere. But there is progress from the first two to the fourth and fifth, and so there must be from the third to the sixth. The two can scarcely be identical. Now it is worth while to compare the order of thought in this passage with that in 1 Pet. iii. 18-22. Christ is there spoken of as put to death in the flesh, as made alive in the spirit, and as preaching to spirits; then follows a reference to the salvation wrought in his name on the earth, and then his ascent to heaven in glory. The striking thing is that in both passages, after Christ's life in the flesh, and before his ascension to heaven, apparently as the first event upon his entrance into the spiritual sphere, he is said to have made himself known to angels. Some, indeed,

*So that some even understand by angels, here, apostles (Thayer, Lexicon).

maintain that "angels," unmodified, always means good angels (so Meyer on 1 Cor. iv. 9). But a more general use of the word seems implied even in 2 Pet. ii. 4, and especially in 1 Cor. vi. 3, and Heb. ii. 16, and would be natural in a concise, rhythmical statement like the one before us.

It may not be aside from the purpose to turn to prophecy for a moment. We are reminded of the words of Isa. lxi. 1, "to proclaim (*κηρύξαι*. LXX. Lu. iv. 18) liberty to the captives," and of Isa. xlii. 7, "to bring out the prisoners from the dungeon, and them that sit in darkness out of the prison-house" (*ἐξ οἴκου φυλακῆς* LXX.), passages which may have influenced the language of Peter's allusion. Isa. xxiv. 22 f. also deserves further notice. We read here of certain "high ones on high" who "shall be shut up in the prison, and after many days shall they be visited," visited, not, as Mr. Wright and others think, for judgment, but almost certainly for release (Cheyne, Delitzsch).

The argument thus far may be summed up as follows: (1.) The language of the verse fits the reference to the fallen angels. (2.) The idea of a mission of Christ to angel-spirits in prison would be easily conceivable by those born to Jewish ways of thinking, and would be consonant with Christian thought as found in the New Testament. It is believed that the reference of the words to souls of the departed in Hades fails at both these points.

A few words must be added upon the order of thought, and upon the meaning of 1 Pet. iv. 6.

In order to encourage Christians in enduring suffering for well-doing, the apostle appeals to the example of Christ who suffered, not for his own fault, but for the sins of others, and whose suffering issued in blessing for them and in glory for him. In describing Christ's sufferings and their outcome, a two-fold contrast seems to be in the writer's mind. Christ in the flesh suffered for men, and even in the spirit he labored for spirits. In each case there was a glory, God-given, answering to the suffering. Put to death in the flesh, he was made alive in the spirit. Having ministered to fallen angels in their prison, he was exalted above all the angels in heaven. Christ's preaching to the spirits, then, stands in a double relation. On the

one hand, as his work in the spirit, it contrasts with his work in the flesh; and on the other hand, as a suffering for sin, it stands in contrast to the glory that followed. He served the lowest angels, and then ruled over the highest. That this last contrast, also, is in Peter's mind, notwithstanding what intervenes before v. 22, seems to be indicated formally by the repetition of *πορευθεῖς*.

The passage, then, harmonizes in its main thought with that which has been called the key-note of the epistle, "the connection of suffering and glory in the Christian life" (comp. iv. 13). Verse 21 certainly turns aside from the direct course of thought, though it is not far from the fundamental conception. It occasions no very serious difficulty when the first mention of Noah's age is perfectly accounted for.

We now turn to iv. 6. "For unto this end was the gospel preached even to the dead, etc." If this refers to iii. 19, it would seem to justify interpreting that passage of departed men in Hades. But nothing in the language of the two passages suggests a connection. The words are not the same, and it is scarcely possible, as already said, that spirits would be called dead. A study of the context makes it highly probable that this passage has nothing to do with the former one, and that the reference is to a preaching during their life-time to those who are now dead. This interpretation has been violently opposed. Alford says, "If *καὶ νεκροῖς εὐηγγελίσθη* may mean, 'the Gospel was preached to some during their life-time who are now dead,' exegesis has no longer any fixed rule, and Scripture may be made to prove anything." "Such a divulsion of the verb from its object by an intervening change of state and time was precisely that against which we protested" in 'he preached to the spirits in prison' above, iii. 19. We, also, have protested against reading into the latter passage the meaning, "he preached to men in their life-time who are now spirits, etc." But the two cases are not parallel. From the preceding verses it appears that in the (heathen?) community here addressed the gospel had been preached. Some accepted it, others rejected it and kept on in sin, reviling and troubling their former companions who had become Christians. Peter gives assurance of justice to all in the end. Now it was a common thought

among the first Christians that those who rejected Christ, if they died before his return, thereby escaped the Messianic judgment; while Christians, if they died, were in danger of missing the Messianic reward.* It was in answer to such a tacit objection that Peter speaks of Christ as ready to judge the living and the dead (comp. Acts x. 42, 2 Tim. iv. 1). Death would not deliver revilers from judgment, nor deprive believers of their reward. To the dead the gospel had been preached with the same purpose as to the living. Death would not interfere with its purpose and issue. Now it should be noticed that in v. 5, those to whom the gospel had been preached are divided into two classes according as they are now living or dead. In v. 6, the second class is referred to again, and the same term is used as before, naturally and by an easy accommodation, though in a connection in which it is not strictly applicable. It is in this repetition of a term just used, that this passage differs from iii. 19. If one should say of the soldiers of the civil war that "they all have their reward whether living or dead, for even the dead fought not in vain," it would not be necessary to explain that the dead were not dead when they fought. The words "the dead fought" are perfectly understood to mean, "those who are now dead once fought." That is like iv. 6. But if one should say, "Grant gave orders to the ghosts who once fought in his army," we should think inevitably of a transaction in the underworld, and could not possibly interpret it of an event in the life-time of men who are now ghosts. This is like iii. 19. We cannot, then, assent to Alford's dictum.

The interpretation, "the gospel was preached in their life-time to those now dead," is strongly confirmed by the clause of purpose which follows, "that they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit." It is generally held that the 'being judged' is to be taken not strictly as purpose, but in a concessive sense, "that, although judged, they might live." But even admitting this, we must yet suppose that the judging no less than the living followed in time, rather than preceded, the principal verb. *ἵνα* might indeed introduce something which followed an act,

* Paul speaks against this error in 1 Thes. iv. 13-18, and 1 Cor. xv.

though it was not intended, especially if it followed as a natural or necessary result, as in this case suffering and unjust death followed men's acceptance of the gospel, though it was not preached for that purpose; but that *ŷva* with an aorist subjunctive should express something which happened before the verb on which it depends seems highly improbable (against Huther). How could we read, "The gospel was preached to the dead in order that they might indeed have died, but might live?"* The form of the sentence certainly favors the idea that the preaching came first, that it did not prevent those who heard it from being put to death in the flesh, that it was even the occasion of their death, which was inflicted according to the unrighteous judgment of men, but that death would not prevent the preaching from effecting its proper end in the new life given according to the righteous judgment of God. The passage must not be pressed too far. Its expression is indefinite rather than universal, and its application is defined by the contest, as suggested. It certainly can not be used as a key to iii. 19.†

This must end a discussion which makes no claim to completeness, and leaves many points untouched. It has necessarily taken the form of advocacy. Its intention, however, is not to affirm the certain truth of the theory in question, but to show that it has been neglected rather than disproved, and that it deserves re-statement and reconsideration.‡

F. C. PORTER.

*The difference of the two verbs in tense seems to imply no more than that being judged is a single act, while living is a continued state.

† Among those who deny any connection between the two passages, see Usteri, Wright, von Hofmann.

‡ Following is a brief history of this interpretation. The main points in Baur's theory were: (1) that the spirits were the sinning angels of Gen. vi. 1-4 and 2 Pet. ii. 4; (2) that the preaching was an announcement of judgment; (3) that it was mentioned for its christological significance, the thought being that of Eph. iv. 9, 10; (4) that iv. 6 has no connection with iii. 19, but rather suggests the Shepherd of Hermas (iii. 9, 16), where the Apostles preach to the righteous dead and baptize them.—*Hilgenfeld*, in his *Zeitschrift für Wissensch. Theol.* 1860, p. 334, simply says that Baur's reference is right. So again, in the same, 1861, p. 213. But in 1873, p. 478, he says there is no reference to Enoch, but

departed souls are meant. He gives no reasons for the earlier opinion, nor any for the later, except a reference to Heb. xii. 23, Luke xxiv. 39.—*Volkmar*, in the same *Zeitschrift*, 1861, p. 115 and 427f, accepts Baur's interpretation, but holds, against Baur, to a preaching of salvation.—*Ewald*, in *Jahrbücher d. Bibl. Wissensch.*, viii. (1856), p. 190f. casually remarks that I Pet. iii. 19 points to the Book of Enoch. In his *Sieben Sendschreiben d. Neuen Bundes*, 1870, p. 48, he says that Christ preached to the spirits held imprisoned (according to the Book of Enoch from which also Jude 6 draws) as he had hitherto preached to men. But these were selected only as examples, because the worst conceivable. For, from iv. 6, it appears more plainly than from iii. 19, that Christ preached to all the dead (p. 53). This looks as if Ewald had *men* in mind, not angels, and indeed he calls them "the men of Noah's day" (p. 47). Usteri conjectures that Ewald meant the giants, who were half angel, half man. That is, however, only a conjecture. Ewald does not say in what sense Peter refers to Enoch. He carefully avoids clearness, and seems to mix inconsistent views. Perhaps he wanted to avoid borrowing from Baur, or appearing to do so.—*Inmer*, *Theologie d. N. T.*, 1877, p. 485f., also accepts the allusion to Enoch, but does not say in what sense.—*F. Schnapp*, of Bonn, in a review of Kühl, in *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1888, p. 28f., favors Baur's theory, and suggests in a few lines certain arguments, namely, that "spirits" in the N. T. does not mean souls of the dead, that "prison" does not stand for the region of the dead, and that the spirits are themselves, as such, said to have been disobedient. He refers to Enoch xii. 4, x. 4f, xv. 8, and lxxi. 14, from which it appears that he thinks of Noah's mission to the angels, and his announcement to them of God's judgment, as the type or suggestion of the mission of Christ. He finds a further possible connection with Enoch (xlviii. 8) in I Pet. i. 20, "foreknown before the foundation of the world."

This, so far as I know, completes the brief list of those who have in any way favored the hypothesis. On the other hand it has received but meager notice from other writers. Alford does not mention it. Huther dismisses it with the remark above quoted. Kühl has omitted this, and merely copies the common references, including a common error. The brief objections of Usteri and others have been stated in the text.

In view of this record two things are to be said: (1.) A theory which has found so little favor with critics has a fair presumption against it. (2.) It is to be observed, however, that the theory has never (so far as I can discover) received anything approaching thorough and consistent treatment either favorable or unfavorable.

ARTICLE III.—HISTORY IN NAMES.

WHAT'S in a name? This was Juliet's contemptuous question; and no one ventured to reply, because that charming young lady was in no mood to receive an answer. She didn't ask for information, neither did she wish to argue the question; but, woman like, she carried her point by getting the last word. So it happened that it was suffered to go on record—"A rose by any other name would smell as sweet," which being interpreted means, there is nothing at all in a name.

As a consequence the words have been quoted parrot fashion again and again by persons who think that a name is to a man what a collar is to a dog, i. e., something put on for the benefit of tax collectors and the like. But this is a great mistake, and doubtless the heroine of Shakespeare's great tragedy would have acknowledged it such had her lover been known by some less pleasing title. Had he borne the name of Bill Sykes or Jack Ketch instead of the romantic Romeo Montague, we may be sure that the tragedy would never have been enacted.

Although we cannot fully adopt the theory of the elder Shandy that there are many "who might have done exceeding well in the world had not their characters and spirits been totally depressed, and Nicodemused into nothing," yet we must acknowledge a certain natural relation between name and character. Take an illustration from Dickens' Works. You can judge unerringly of each person's character as soon as you see his name. Pecksniff could be no other than the miserly rascal that he was without changing his name. Uriah Heep is stamped a hypocrite the moment he is introduced. The names of Whackford Squeers, Smike, Mrs. Gummidge, Peggotty, Susan Nipper, Arthur Gride, and Captain Cuttle bring before the reader's mind pictures of person and character so distinct and unalterable that the author's subsequent descriptions are almost unnecessary. Indeed had he taken the liberty to describe them other than as our fancy paints them it would show a lack of the true creative genius so necessary to the successful novelist.

No! names are not the empty, meaningless things that Miss Capulet and her followers would have us believe them to be. On the contrary, there is a great deal in them. They present an interesting subject of study from many points of view, and can be made to reveal a variety of unexpected truths.

Let us take a single topic, that of history, and see what a few names can tell us about it. There is a universal history written in the names of all ages. From a well arranged catalogue of the principal names of different ages and lands we might construct a tolerably complete history of the world, giving the prominent characteristics of the various nations, their social condition and habits of life.

Names portray the mind of the age that gives them birth. Every nation has had its peculiar nomenclature, and that nomenclature has been created, modified and developed by the circumstances of the national growth. It has been affected by varying degrees of intellectual culture; but intellect has not been the only modifying force. Names bear the impress of social and political movements also. And even religious developments have stamped themselves upon the popular names.

Let us take by way of illustration a few names from different periods of history and see how much they will tell us of the people to whom they belong. For convenience we will select names from only four nations, the Hebrew, Greek, Roman, and English.

First of all we have the Hebrew names found in the Bible. From them we will try to learn what sort of people the Hebrews were.

Earlier than the national Hebrew names are the names of the people who lived before the flood. Let us glance for a moment at these.

The first man is called *Adam*, a name signifying *Red-earth*. The name tells the story of man's origin in a single word and a short one at that. Man was made from red earth. There is nothing in that word about "anthropoid ape," or any other Darwinian fancy. Try as hard as you please, you cannot make those two short syllables disclose any such modern scientific ideas as the "Theory of Development," "Natural Selection," or "Survival of the Fittest." Let your imagination frame, if

it is equal to the task, a name which could with any real fitness designate the first human product of evolution, and compare it with the name Adam. Instead of a word of four letters easily pronounced, we should have a name which would of itself fill a small pamphlet, and which even the practised tongue of an Ojibway or a Russian could never articulate.

Again, what name could more fitly or simply express the universal motherhood of the first woman than *Eve*? The name means *Life* and points to her at once as the source of the natural life of the race.

The name *Cain* signifies *Acquired* or *Begotten*, the most natural of all titles for the first child born upon earth. It required a history to tell us the circumstances of the fall, but the name *Abel*, meaning *Vanity* or *Lamentation*, reveals the consequences of the first sin as plainly as the most elaborate history could do.

In these and other names that immediately follow them is depicted a most simple and artless state of mind among men, the children receiving names from any circumstance which from its novelty or importance deeply impressed the parents. *Jabal*, meaning a *Stream* or *Wandering-one*, tells us when men began to rove about, and we scarcely need the additional words of Scripture that "he is the father of such as dwell in tents." The name alone gives us a beautifully picturesque idea of the habits of the nomadic tribes of the East. In like manner we learn of the introduction of music from the name *Jubal*, meaning *A-blast-of-trumpets*.

When we come to the fifth generation or thereabouts in the family lines of both Cain and Seth, a new element appears in the names. "Men began to call themselves by the name of the Lord" (a not improbable rendering of Gen. iv. 26, last clause), whether the Scripture narrative tells us so or not. *Mehuja-el*, *Methusa-el*, *Mahalale-el* are all compounded with the syllable *El*, which is the earliest form of the Hebrew name of God. From these names we learn that there was a knowledge of God at that early period, and that men had some idea of their relations toward Him.

The first name that can properly be called a Hebrew national name is of course *Abraham*, a name signifying *The-father-of-a-*

great-nation. In this name is indicated the characteristic idea of the patriarchal period, viz., the family the foundation of society, and the nation only an extension of the family relation. History tells us that it was the ambition of every man at this period to become the leader of a tribe or nation. Hence the common desire for a large family of sons which shows itself in the names given. Among the sons of Jacob we have *Reuben*, meaning *Behold-a-son*; *Gad*, *A-troop*; *Joseph*, *An-addition*; and *Benjamin*, *Son-of-my-right-hand*; all testifying to the ruling desire of the age.

Of course we are not to expect that every name of a particular period will display characteristics peculiar to that period. In every age we shall find the great mass of names are those which have been handed down from preceding generations. It is in the new elements of the nomenclature that we shall naturally discover the developing tendencies of the age.

Among the patriarchs we have the name *Isaac*, meaning *Laughter*; *Jacob*, *A-supplanter*; *Esau*, *Hairy*; *Simeon*, *Hearing*; and *Issachar*, *Hire*; names of the simplest class and precisely similar to those of the earliest age in the world's history. And as we trace the course of Israelitish history through its successive stages, we find these primitive ideas retained to a remarkable degree. All along down the history we meet with such simple names as *Moses*, which means *Drawn-out*; *Saul*, *Sought-for*; *David*, *Beloved*; *Jeroboam*, *Enlarger-of-the-people*; *Ahaz*, *Possessor*; *Asa*, *Cunning*; and the like. The peculiarly patriarchal names are also frequent. For example, we find *Abiram*, *Father-exalted*; *Abishai*, *Father-of-a-gift*; *Absalom*, *Father-of-peace*; and *Abiel*, *Father-of-strength*.

A class by far more numerous than either of the two just mentioned is composed of names containing a title of divinity. We have already noticed the appearance of the syllable *El* in names as early as the fifth generation from Adam. This element soon disappears however, so far as we can learn, from all but the one line of descent, the Hebrew. It is seen in *Isra-el*, *A-prince-with-God*; and *Ishma-el*, *Whom-God-hears*; and in the later Israelitish history is of such frequent occurrence that one can count a hundred names containing this

syllable by glancing over a very few pages of the Old Testament. The syllable was placed sometimes at the beginning of the name, as in *El-eazar* and *El-kanah*, and sometimes at the end, as in *Samu-el* and *Dani-el*.

After the Exodus a new element is introduced into names which in English is usually spelled *jah*, *iah* or *jo*. This is the covenant name of God, *Jehovah*, as it appears in composition. Hence we have *Jo-nathan*, *Jehovah's-gift*; *Isa-iah*, *The-salvation-of-Jehovah*; *Jerem-iah*, *The-exalted-of-Jehovah*; and very many others.

In the names *Eli-jah* or *Eli-hu* and *Jo-el* we have the two forms of the Divine name combined; either one of these names signifying *Jehovah-is-God*.

The frequency with which such names occur plainly indicates the religious character of the Hebrew people without any aid from history. We might infer that they worshiped more than one deity from the fact that two distinct names appear to have been in common use, were it not that the combination of the two in such names as *Elijah* proves them to be different titles of one God.

We may even learn what is the position and character ascribed to their deity by the Hebrews from a further study of the names. Thus *El-iab* signifies *God-a-father*; *Jo-shua*, *Jehovah-a-savior*; *El-imelech*, *God-a-king*. And in this way we might trace the complete list of Divine attributes.

Let us now summarize the information which we have gleaned regarding the Hebrews from a hasty glance at their national names. We have seen, first, that throughout their national existence they retained much of the simplicity of early days. Second, that they perpetuated the distinctively patriarchal ideas even after they adopted the monarchical form of government. In the third place, ideas of God and religion were prominent in the national mind. Again, they worshiped but one God, *Jehovah*. And finally we learn the character of the deity whom they worship.

Next in order come Greek names, and our survey of these must necessarily be brief, as few of the Greek historic names are familiar.

Early Grecian history abounds in such names as *Lycurgus*, and *Lycæon*, of which the common element is the syllable *Lyc*,

a contracted form of the word *Lycos*, a-wolf. *Lyc-urgus* is wolf-compeller; *Lyc-aon*, wolf-like; *Lyc-ophon*, wolf-voiced. Another element seen quite as often is *Leon*, signifying *A-lion*. The name of *Leon-idas*, the noble Spartan who led the brave band at Thermopylæ, is familiar to every school-boy. His name signifies *Lion-like*, and was well suited to the man. We have also *Leon-tes* and *Leon tiades* with similar meaning. Besides these are *Leo-sthenes*, *Strong-lion*; *Leo-tychides*, *Fortunate-lion*; and many others.

In these names we see reflected that rude state of society when physical courage is the loftiest ideal of human virtue. The mind does not rise above the appreciation of animal qualities in man. This is the first picture.

At a later date we observe the growth of a class of names compounded with *Hippos*, meaning *A-horse*. Such are *Phil-ippus*, *Lover-of-horses*; *Xant-ippe*, *Yellow-horse*; *Hipp-archus*, *Horse-tamer*; *Hippo-crates*, *Strong-horse*; and *Hippo-machus*, *Horse-warrior*, (i. e. cavalry-man). In early times horses were used chiefly in war, hence the introduction of this element in the names betokens the warlike tendency of the Greeks at that period.

At the climax of the Athenian democracy the list of prominent names abounds with the repetition of *Lys* from *Lysis*, signifying *free*. Some of them are *Lys-ander*, *Free-man*; *Lys-ias*, *Free*; *Lys-ippus*, *Free-horse*; and even *Lysi-machus*, *A-free-fight*. From such a list of popular names we could expect nothing else but a democracy; for what could tell more plainly of the prevailing love of freedom.

A widely different spirit displays itself in the names *So-crates*, meaning *Safe-power*; *Cali-crates*, *Noble-power*; *Peri-cles*, *Far-famed*; *Alci-biades*, *Great-power*; and others which abound in the later days of Athenian greatness. The word *Cratos* and others signifying power, which appear in the composition of so many names, are sure tokens of a rising aristocracy; and with such names Greece passes out of sight.

Is not this a correct bird's-eye view of Grecian history, derived wholly from the national names? In its first stages a rude, sturdy race, familiar with wild animals and admiring physical courage; gradually they develop into an intelligent people loving liberty and proclaiming it. Their increasing

power brings with it a love of war and conquest. Then the national feeling gives place to individual ambition, aristocracy usurps the throne of popular liberty and the history closes.

The first Roman names that are presented to us differ essentially from those of primitive Greece, showing that the nation was developed in a different manner. The early Romans were at once simpler and more advanced than the early Greeks. Amongst the earliest Roman names are *Ancus*, *A-servant*; *Servius*, *Slave*; *Marcus*, *Manly*; *Valerius*, *An-eagle*; *Cincinnatus*, *Having-curly-hair*; *Dentatus*, *Toothed*; *Barbatus*, *Bearded*, and *Curtius*, *Short*; all of which are of the simplest class. We also find *Tanaquil*, *Eagle-like*; *Corvus*, *A-crow*; *Gracchus*, *Jackdaw*; and *Mus*, *Mouse*; names of creatures well known in an agricultural community. There is still another class of names like *Coriolanus*, *Worker-in-leather*; *Camillus*, *Attendant-at-sacrifice*; *Agricola*, *A-farmer*.

These names give us a good portrait of Rome in her early days. They tell us of a simple people, domestic in their habits, given to agriculture and trade, civilized, peaceful, and industrious.

In later days, names more frequently seen are *Augustus*, meaning *Stern*; *Nero*, *Strong*; *Pompey*, *Splendid*; *Cato*, *Cautious*; *Aemilius*, *A-rival*; *Aurelius*, *Golden*; and *Optimus*, *Rich*. The tendency is in a measure similar to that which we observed in the later days of Grecian history; but, in a less marked degree. In every period we find a large proportion of the most primitive names. *Claudius*, *Lame*; *Scipio*, *A staff*; *Crassus*, *Slow*; *Flaccus*, *Lop-eared*; prevail even under the empire. Thus we learn from the names that the true Roman always loved simplicity. There was less of art among them than among the Greeks. The love of nature and the natural was inborn.

History confirms these facts. Cicero loved to escape from the noise of the forum and the anxious cares of the consulship and give himself to quiet meditation in his Tusculan villa. Horace, too, was wont to mourn over the degeneracy of his age from the pleasant seclusion of his farm at Tarentum.

Our review of English historic names must of necessity begin with those of the Saxon period: for owing to the com-

pletteness of the Anglo-Saxon conquest, the early British names have almost totally disappeared.

All are familiar with the names of the pirate brothers, *Hengist* and *Horsa*, who came to assist the Britons against their enemies in the North. Both names signify *A horse*. Like the "Hippos" of the Greeks, they indicate the martial character of the people. Soon after the conquest we find many names ending in *wulf*, which is the same as the modern *wolf*. Among them are *Ethel-wulf*, *Great-wolf*; *Ead-wulf*, *Noble-wolf*; *Arn-ulf*, and others. This is the same class of names that was so common among the early Greeks, and it betokens a similar state of society. The Saxons of this period were evidently lovers of the chase and admirers of physical courage.

As time passes on, these names gradually disappear, and in their place we find compounds of *Ed*, signifying *truth*. *Edward* is *Truth-ward*; *Edmund*, *Truth-speaker*; *Edwin*, *Truth-winning*; *Edgar*, *Truth-weapon*. Compounds with *fred*, meaning *peace*, are also common, as in *Alfred*, *All-peace*; *Win-fred*, *Winning-peace*; *Ethel-fred*, *Great-peace*, etc. A third element characteristic of the same period is *dred*, which is an old form of the word *dread*, but conveys more nearly the idea of reverence or religious fear. It appears in *Edred*, *Happy-fear*; *Mor-dred*, *More-fear*; *Al-dred*, *All-fear*. Such a series of names plainly indicates the rise of moral and religious ideas in the Saxon mind, combined with the utmost simplicity. We need nothing but these names to tell when Christianity was first introduced into Saxon England. It is also worthy of note that in these names there is nothing artificial. They were the words used in common conversation, applied without change as names of persons.

Suddenly, towards the close of the eleventh century, a great change takes place in English nomenclature. Edwards, Alfreds, and Edgars disappear from the higher ranks of life to make room for Williams, Henrys, and Charleses, together with many other names which we recognize as being borrowed from the Greek of the New Testament, though with various alterations of form. These are Norman-French names; and the fact that they so quickly displace the older Saxon names in all the higher ranks of life tells the story of the Norman conquest.

As to the character of the conquering people, what do they tell us? The fact that they are mostly names received from a foreign source speaks of culture and education. It also argues a degree of artificiality, since the meaning of the names becomes obscured, and they seem to be applied on account of association rather than because of their etymological significance. In contrast with Saxon bluntness we see a clear proof of art and refinement.

As centuries pass, the Saxon names begin to rise again from obscurity, and sovereigns and nobles received names from either language without discrimination, plainly indicating the amalgamation of the two races into one composite people.

But the Saxon names no longer have the significance that they once had; for while the names have remained the same the language has undergone great changes, and the meaning of the names is not apparent at sight, as in earlier times.

Still later in the history we find a new turn of sentiment among a certain class of the people, and Old Testament names come into popular favor. *Jeremiah*, *Obadiah*, *David*, and *Habakkuk* are found on every hand. But even these ancient names do not satisfy the growing tendency of the age, which is peculiarly religious. Then follows a series of names composed of Bible words or phrases, such as *Accepted*, *Redeemed*, *Faint-not*, *Make-peace* and *Lament*. The following names have been taken from an English jury list in Puritan times: *Redeemed* Compton, *God-reward* Smart, *Accepted* Trevor, and one, by a rather suggestive combination, is *Called* Lower. The increasing absurdity of the age and the tendency towards cant shows itself in such names as *Kill-sin*, *Be-stedfast*, *Be-courteous* *Be-faithful*, and there are many longer ones. We find one *Search-the-Scriptures*, also *Stand-fast-on-high*, *Fight-the-good-fight-of-faith*, *Be-of-good-comfort*, *Zeal-of-the-land*, *Hew-Agag-in-pieces-before-the-Lord*, and *Obadiah-bind-their-kings-in-chains-and-their-nobles-with-links-of-iron*, are also genuine Puritan names.

One Puritan maiden, being asked for her baptismal name, replied, "*Through-much-tribulation-we-enter-the-kingdom-of-heaven*, but for short they call me *Tribby*." About the same time is recorded the name of a child, *Job-rakt-out-of-the-ashes*,

who was not a Puritan. Such names remind us of the less authentic but hardly more ludicrous account of a child named *Rachel-weeping - for-her-children-and-refusing-to-be-comforted-because-they-were-not* Smith.

All who have read English history will remember the famous Barebone's Parliament, named from its leader, *Praise-God* Barebone. But not all are aware that this same Praise-God Barebone had two brothers, one of whom was named *Christ-came-into-the-world-to-save* Barebone, and the other, *If-Christ-had-not-died-for-thee-thou-hadst-been-damned* Barebone. The latter was not inappropriately nicknamed Damned Barebone.

That names could grow to such absurd forms and proportions shows the religious monstrosity of the age. Like all other unnatural developments, it soon subsided and the stream of popular names returned to its proper channel, retaining only the best elements of the recent growth. Such names as Grace, Mercy, Faith, and Patience will never die.

As we approach the more modern period of English history, we pause in dismay. The view is kaleidoscopic in variety, and unlimited in extent. Wait till the age becomes historic, and then let some bold adventurer see what he can make out of its nomenclature. We have already gone far enough for our purpose. The Saxon conquest, the introduction of Christianity, the Norman conquest, the fusion of Saxons and Normans, and the Puritan movement in religion, have all been stamped on the names of the different periods as legibly as the names of the Roman emperors on ancient coins.

It is impossible in a few pages to treat such a subject with fulness. We can but hint at lines of thought and investigation that might be followed to a great distance. We can only illustrate, and that in merest outline, without approaching the dignity of proof. Yet we may plainly see, even in so hasty a glance, that names have a real historic value and significance. Whether they are given with a knowledge of their meaning, or from mere association, makes little difference. In any case they will betray many secrets concerning the family and the nation to which they belong. Given the names of a people, and we can surely tell much of that people's character and history.

CURRENT LITERATURE.

HOW TO JUDGE OF A PICTURE.*—It is safe to say that the vast majority of people not only do not know how "to judge of a picture," but most of them are very ready to confess their ignorance. Books without number have been written to instruct those who wish to learn, but those who have written them differ so much among themselves that the "uncritical lovers of art" are usually discouraged. The author of this book has already gained reputation by what he has contributed to the abundant literature of the subject. In this new volume he has been especially successful. He has avoided those subjects on which artists and connoisseurs disagree, and has presented in a condensed form—in a little 16mo. of about one hundred and fifty pages—the most important principles which are accepted by all. What he says will not confuse the reader who is without technical knowledge, and those who know something about the technique of art will be charmed with the clearness and freshness with which he writes.

A large part of the book is devoted to those explanations which will teach the tyro how to judge of the mechanical part of an artist's work; and, it must be confessed, in the case of most pictures, this is about the only thing that will repay much study. The skill which any practical workman shows in his special craft is a thing which always gives delight to a fellow-craftsman, or to any person who can appreciate his work. So it is in Art. In judging of a picture, one must understand something of the nature and character of the mechanical skill displayed by the artist. This cannot be passed by without notice, though there are other things which are really of much more importance in forming an estimate of the best pictures. Still the technique of art is of great importance, and there is no royal road to learning how to judge of it. Very valuable suggestions may be made which will be of assistance, but long continued observation and study are needed before a person can judge intelligently.

* *How to Judge of a Picture.* Familiar talks in the gallery with the uncritical lovers of art. By JOHN C. VAN DYKE. Chautauqua Press. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 16mo., pp. 168.

This part of the subject is therefore first discussed by Mr. Van Dyke in eight chapters, viz: I. Color and Harmony.—II. Tone and Gradation.—III. Light and Shade.—IV. Perspective and Atmosphere.—V. Values.—VI. Textures and Qualities.—VII. Drawing and Form.—VIII. Composition.

Now, many persons advance as far as to get some knowledge of the technique of art, and go no further. But it is to be remembered that while it is important that an artist should conform in his technique to the principles laid down in these eight chapters, yet there is something far more important. Artists claim that painting is a language. It is a means of expressing thought; and of course the thought is greater than the means used in expressing it. So the idea which the painter has had in mind is the great thing to be looked for and considered.

But in the great majority of pictures in any gallery, what evidence is there of any special thought in the artist? or of any idea which the painter has sought to express? A large proportion of them are simply attempts to reproduce in color some pretty bit of scenery, or some amusing or characteristic group of people. Now, the artist who limits himself to such work may make something which will give a momentary feeling of pleasure to the spectator, but he is only an imitator, and mere imitation never made anything of enduring value. Mr. Van Dyke says: "The painter detailing nature upon canvass, line upon line, with no hope, object, or ambition but that of rendering nature as she is, is but unsuccessfully rivaling the photograph camera." . . . "Such pictures are good reminders of the places we have visited, like the photograph we buy along the line of travel, but they scarcely add to the world of art." He insists that the "object of painting is not to deceive, and make one think he stands in the presence of real life. Art is not the delineation of peanuts and postage-stamps in such a realistic manner that you stretch out your hand to pick them up." Neither, it may be added, is it art of the highest kind to paint mere representations of what is beautiful, even though the artist in doing this shows knowledge of technique, and possesses marked ability, and individuality, and enthusiasm, and feeling.

In the highest art there is something more. The most perfect beauty is not to be found in *things*. Mr. Van Dyke says: "Trees, sky, air, water, men, cities, streets, buildings, are but the symbols of ideas which play their part in the conception." The highest beauty is to be found in the conceptions of the human

mind. To the artist, therefore, who conceives an idea, and uses the forms of nature as the means of expressing that idea, is to be accorded the highest place.

We will quote an illustration or two from Mr. Van Dyke:

Take the "Sower" of Millet, and what is it that we admire about it? A hundred living artists could excel the drawing, a hundred could excel the rendering of texture and light. The figure is of little consequence. In any street in Paris might have been found a physical man of more perfect make-up. It is the thought, the conception of heroism in humble life, that is strikingly beautiful. You may remember seeing in Rome the statue of "Moses" by Michael Angelo. As a piece of mechanical work it is not wonderful. I doubt not that Canova could have equaled, if not excelled, Michael Angelo as a carver and polisher. But there is something in the "Moses" that is worth all the marbles Canova ever cut. It is the conception of tremendous power, the conceived ability of Moses to overawe, crush, destroy all things before him. In the Prophets and Sybils of the Sistine some of the same power is apparent, combined with solemnity, mystery, weirdness, even the spirit of that prophecy which characterized the originals. The conceptions are lofty to sublimity, nor are the forms at all unworthy of the ideas they embody; but they are not so great as the latter. Bouguereau could have drawn them as well; Delacroix could have given them a more harmonious coloring; Alfred Stevens or Carolus-Duran could have painted their garments much better; but all of them together could not have created that idea of mystery and power which attaches to them. * * *

Still another instance of art excellent by the predominance of idea may be taken from the work of an American artist—Mr. Albert Ryder. You have doubtless seen a small sea-piece of his, often exhibited in New York, called "A Waste of Waters is Their Field." It is little larger than your two hands, and represents a fisher-boat tossed by the waves of mid ocean. The light is dull, the figures and boat mere suggestions, and the waves scarcely distinguishable, as I remember them; yet there is an indefinable something about the picture that draws us to it. It is not the painting of it, for that is hardly up to the average. I can scarcely describe what it is except by saying that the picture conveys to one the idea of the loneliness, the weirdness, the wildness of a continued existence at sea amid storms and tempests and dangers innumerable. The craft with her dusky crew, as she pitches and rolls in the sea, her black sails blown full of heavy air and the light dimly seen through storm-clouds, looks like a wraith, a phantom boat, an exile hunted of men. We forget the material parts of the picture after a time, yet the idea haunts us. It keeps galloping through our brain like that dashing falconer of Fromentin. The painter holds us by his thought, his conception, precisely as the novelist makes us remember Lady Dedlock, Jean Valjean, or Harvey Birch, though we may hardly be able to recall a word they said or a thing they did. * * *

Mr. Ruskin tells you that he [Turner] is great because he knew about the cleavages of rocks, spears of grass, sticks, stones, and trees, and that he was a great painter for one reason—because he painted these objects “true to nature;” but, with all respect for Mr. Ruskin, I beg of you not to believe any such thing. It would not be less erroneous to say that Shakespeare was great because he made a pronoun agree with its noun in gender, number, and person, or that Milton was sublime because he knew how to beat out the accent of an heroic line. People are not great by reason of small accomplishments, but because of great conceptions and revelations; and this is the case with Turner.

WILLIAM L. KINGSLEY.

THE MAGAZINE OF ART.*—Those who are interested in the subject which is treated in the book of Mr. Van Dyke, just noticed, will find it well worth while to examine carefully the magazine which is published monthly by Messrs. Cassell & Co., of New York. We have often, in this Review, commended it, and called attention to the fact that each of its numbers, besides many beautiful illustrations, contains one or two full page etchings of the best paintings of contemporaneous art in the different countries of Europe. We mention the magazine again at this time, for the reason that these etchings, though without the accompaniment of color, furnish those who cannot visit the European art collections an opportunity of studying the methods of the best living artists abroad, and the way they apply the principles which are laid down by Mr. Van Dyke.

The **AUGUST NUMBER** contains a very characteristic etching of of Meissoniér's “Vedette.” It is a picture of a French mounted vedette or scout, completely armed, who has spurred ahead of the body of troops who are to be seen in the dim distance. The “Vedette” is riding a splendid looking horse, and has stopped to scrutinize carefully the country before him. An American will probably admire this picture only for its technique. The admirable drawing for which Meissoniér is so famed is certainly here very conspicuous. Every detail is perfect. The erect head of the horse is particularly noticeable. It stands out from the page so as to seem almost to breathe. Nothing too extravagant can be said of the drawing of the horse and his rider. The picture too shows all the peculiarities of Meissoniér's style, and even what are sometimes supposed to be his defects. There is the glare of light over the whole scene which is so common in his work.

* *Magazine of Art.* Cassell & Company (Limited). Yearly subscription \$3.50. Single numbers 35 cents.

Very little use is made of the contrast of shadow. But we do not propose to criticise the technique, and only mention it as worth careful study by anyone who has not learned to judge of this great modern artist by the paintings themselves.

And now, as art is a language, the question arises, What is it that Meissoniér says in this picture? To an American, very little! What would it *mean*, if hung in an American gallery, or in an American parlor? It is, to be sure, an almost perfect picture of a French vedette on duty; and, to those interested in military scenes, it has its value. But, in the house of a French chauvinist, it would say much to the beholder! France is personified in the well appointed horseman who is looking over the German frontier. All the might of France too is waiting in the background, ready to seize the first opportunity that may present itself to pour over the frontier and "avenge Sedan." So it is never to be forgotten that a picture which has no word for us may be full of stirring eloquence for another.

The Magazine usually furnishes, in each number, valuable criticism of art from well known living artists. The August number has an Article by Sir John E. Millais of London.

In the July number, is an Article by Mr. Mortimer Menpes, who has just returned from Japan with a collection of pictures which he painted in that country and which he has placed on exhibition in London. In the Article to which we refer, he comments on a recent report made in Japan by a Japanese commission which had been sent to Europe to investigate the condition of Western art. He says that this commission, after thorough examination, reported that art, as it now is in Japan, is the only living art in the world. Mr. Menpes seems to admit the truth of the claims they make, and takes the occasion to give some of the reasons why they are right. He says that "Art in Japan is no mere exotic cultivation of the skillful, no mere graceful luxury of the rich, but a part of the daily lives of the people." He claims that the artistic sense is shared by the peasant and the prince; as well by the carpenter and fan maker and lacquer-worker as by the stateliest *daimio* of the community. He tells a story of his servant boy as an illustration of what he means, and of "the native artistic instinct of Japan." "I had got a number of fanholders and was busying myself one afternoon in arranging them on the walls. My little Japanese servant boy was in the room, and as I went on with my work I caught an expression on his face from time to time, which showed that he was not overpleased with my

performance. After a while, as this dissatisfied expression seemed to deepen, I asked him what the matter was. Then he frankly confessed that he did not like the way in which I was arranging my fanholders. 'Why did you not tell me so at once?' I asked. 'You are an artist from England,' he replied, 'and it was not for me to speak.' However, I persuaded him to arrange the fanholders himself after his own taste, and I must say I received a remarkable demonstration lesson. The task took him about two hours, placing, arranging, adjusting; and, when he had finished, the result was beautiful. That wall was a perfect picture. Every fanholder seemed to be exactly in its right place, and it looked as if the alteration of a single one would affect and disintegrate the whole scheme. I accepted the lesson with due humility, and remained more than ever convinced that the Japanese are what they have justly claimed to be, an essentially artistic people instinct with living art."

This artistic taste is strengthened by education. The Japanese even as children, are carefully taught the laws of harmony, and how to arrange furniture and flowers so as to secure the best artistic effect. They have books with diagrams to illustrate "the way of properly disposing flowers in a pot." "The outsides as well as the insides of their houses are decorated on the principles of harmony, even to the painting of signs in the street. They are most particular about placing their richly-colored sign in relation to its surroundings. In the same way, whether the subject may be a string of lanterns or whatnot, whatever is done is done harmoniously, and in no case is decoration the result of accident."

Mr. Menpes says that we ought not to judge of the best Japanese art by the specimens which we have in these Western countries. The Japanese artists are amazed that the Europeans and Americans want "such ugly things" as they are required to paint for export. He says that the Japanese look with contempt upon "the kind of curios" which they are now turning out by wholesale to meet the demand that comes from the West, and that the occidental nations, "with their love of gimcrackeries," are doing their best "to cheapen and degrade the artistic capacity of Japan."

Reference is made in the Article to a peculiarity of the wealthy collectors of pictures in Japan which is worth noting, and with an account of which we will conclude. It seems that

as a general thing, they keep their treasures stowed away in what is called a "go down"—or storehouse—and but one picture is brought up at a time to be placed on exhibition in their rooms. Mr. Menpes says: "It is very much like bringing a bottle of wine from the cellar—no one would want the whole bin at a time!"

WILLIAM L. KINGSLEY.

THE ART AMATEUR for July contains a colored study of "Ferns," one of "Poppies" in black and white, a portrait study by Ellen Welby, a decorative figure ("Hebe"), numerous designs for wood carving, china painting, and embroidery, and a page of monograms in "S." The summer student of art will find especially valuable the Articles on "The Science of Landscape—Rocks, Ground, and Trees," "Landscape Painting in Water Colors," and "Sketching from Nature." Other topics practically treated are portrait posing, china painting, wood carving, decoration of table linen, summer embroidery, and lectern hangings. Home decoration receives as usual special attention, and for connoisseurs there is, besides the always vivacious "Note Book," a very interesting "talk" with Durand-Ruel on the different periods of Corot, Millet, and Rousseau, together with some account of the Bavarian artist Gaugengigl, and a notice of the Yandell Summer Exhibition.

The August number contains a very timely and attractive colored plate of Golden Rod and Cardinal Flowers. There are also china-painting designs for a plate (roses), a vase (coneflowers), and a fish plate, a pulpit hanging for Trinity, a page of monograms in "S," a fine study of Mountain Laurel by Victor Dagon, a variety of specially good designs for carved hanging shelves, and a number of Oriental decorative designs, including a full-page illustration of a vestibule in Turkish style. Articles of special practical value are those on "Landscape Painting in Oils," "Science of Landscape—Sky and Water," "Flower Painting in Water Colors," "Dog-Painting" (profusely illustrated), and "Wood Carving." There is a suggestive "talk" on the "Revival of Mural Painting," and "My Note Book" has its usual complement of spicy paragraphs. Price 35 cents. Montague Marks, Publisher, 23 Union Square, New York.

THE ART REVIEW is a bi-monthly magazine which is specially devoted to the illustration of contemporaneous American art. Each number contains an etching, a wood engraving, three

photogelatine, and four photogravure plates. The Review is published in New York, and the price is \$1.50 a number, or \$7.50 a year.

The pictorial illustrations are of a higher character than anything before attempted in this country. The July-August number has a dry-point etching by Frederick W. Freer, after an oil painting by Carroll Beckwith; the title is "A Passing Glance." There is a photogravure of a "Portrait of a Lady," from an oil painting by William M. Chase; and one of the admirable wood engravings—"Spring time"—of William Hamilton Gibson. There are also a large number of photogelatine prints from the most beautiful scenes in the Adirondacks—including pictures from the Au Sable Ponds, Lake Placid, and Raquette Lakes.

But the beauty of the illustrations is by no means the only claim of the "Art Review" for commendation. The general ability of its Articles is unusually high. In the July-August number a discriminating Article on "the beauty of paint" is especially noticeable. It is a plea for technical ability—a plea for "art for art's sake." The author, Mr. Van Dyke, admits to the fullest extent that "the chief and most important purpose of art" is *not* the handling of paint. But he says that the higher aims of art have been so persistently reiterated, that many people seem to have taken it for granted that the work of the fingers is of no importance whatever. They can admire grace of motion in an athlete; they can see beauty in the fingering of a pianist; but they have not learned to appreciate the brush work of the artist, or the way he secures his effects. Mr. Van Dyke introduces the discussion of his subject by a description of the different ways that pictures are examined:

Of those who patronize the gallery during the art season, the father of the family goes to see something funny, the mother to see the pathetic "ideal," Miss Fanny looks for a romantic story on canvas, and Young Hopeful is carried away with a theatrical group of athletic models or a historical tragedy containing the moral-sublime. But the art-learned connoisseur, the diligent amateur, the shoppy artist, and the carping critic—what do they go forth to see? Why, paint. At a distance a clever idea, nice composition, drawing, color, or tone may attract their notice, and straightway they walk up to within smelling distance of the canvas, to "see if that man knows how to paint." Then begins the interesting part of the feast, for never a book-lover pored over a Stephens or a Baskerville with half the relish that a true lover of paint studies the manner in which an artist has handled his brush. Whether at Amsterdam or Venice among the ancients, or

at Paris or Munich among the moderns, it is the same ; the quest is for paint. The old picture-viewer is twin brother to the old book-worm. They hunt in similar fields in a similar manner. The one goes down the long rows of books sniffing at Shakespeare, Bacon, and Pope, in favor of Albertus Magnus, John Pico, and Poliziano ; and the other goes down the gallery, passing over Ghirlandajo, Perugino, and Bartolommeo, to stand transfixed with enthusiasm before Rubens, Velasquez, or Watteau. And, after all, is there not some reason and method in the apparent eccentricity ? Some may seek for the glories of the high ideal, and some for the splendors of perfect skill. There are beauties in both, and the preference is a matter of taste.

Mr. Van Dyke then gives a clear and interesting historical review of the methods according to which the great painters have worked from the days of Michael Angelo, and of the advance that has been made in modern times in all that pertains to technique. It is ignorance of these methods which in part explains the lack of interest which so many persons feel in the paintings of the old masters. It is to be remembered that the great Florentines thought only of line and form ; and the "paint part" of their work was only "a filling-in of the inclosed space with color." How different the technique of Vollon, Courbet, Rousseau, Fortuny, and the modern artists ! It follows then, that for the intelligent appreciation of the work of any painter—ancient or modern—it is necessary to know what to look for in the technique of each. The Article concludes with setting forth the advantages of being sufficiently acquainted with "paint" to be able to judge of the wonderful work for which the modern artists have become so distinguished. Mr. Van Dyke says : "Poets and novelists touch up their pages with happy similes, imagery, and metaphors to brighten their theme and hold the reader, and why should not artists employ their brushes in a similar manner ? To call it 'style' in the one and 'trickery' in the other is very absurd, not to say unjust. The dash, the fire, the richness, of Fortuny in paint is analogous to that of Gautier in literature, and, whatever the thoughts they may have given utterance to, we would not spare the brilliant style of either." But on such a subject, a writer is in danger of being sadly misunderstood, and at the close of his Article Mr. Van Dyke says : "In consideration of the delightful misunderstanding of one's views so prevalent nowadays, it may be worth while to repeat that nothing in this paper is intended to prove the superiority of the hand over the head, or to show that skill in execution is equal to the power of invention."

We wish to call attention also to the fact that the Review gives accounts of what is being done for the promotion of art in different parts of the country in a way which is at once very intelligible, very interesting, and very encouraging.

WILLIAM L. KINGSLEY.

TAXATION.*—Prof. Cossa of the University of Pavia is known to English readers chiefly through his "Guide to the Study of Political Economy," a little work of great value to the student and the product of an unusually wide range of study. As Prof. Cossa is one of the leading representatives of the very solid and vigorous scholarship of new Italy, a word of information about his career may be of interest. He was born in 1831. His University training was received at Pavia, Vienna, and Leipsic, where he was under the instruction first of Stein and then of Roscher. Upon his return to Italy he became professor at Pavia, where his work was especially fruitful in inspiring young men to undertake original investigations in the field of contemporary problems. He began to write for publication comparatively late, but has produced several admirable text-books. He excels in clear analysis and statement of principles. Familiar with nearly all the leading languages of Europe, his work is noticeably characterized by comprehensiveness. This same breadth of learning enables him to furnish admirable bibliographies with his text-books which add much to their usefulness. The present volume, edited by Mr. Horace White, contains a brief and clear exposition of the principles of taxation. It will serve as a concise statement of the established principles either for reference, or in teaching, as a good basis for lectures. Mr. White's notes are always instructive and to the point. The appendix on the tax systems of New York and Pennsylvania is a useful feature. The translation has had the benefit of several scholarly revisions and may be trusted. We are of opinion however, that the phrase "Science of Finance" accords rather better with the prevailing English usage as a translation of "*Scienza delle Finanze*" than the term "Science of the Finances" which has been chosen.

ECONOMIC SCIENCE.†—The author of this essay has attempted

* *Taxation. Its Principles and Methods.* Translated from the "*Scienza delle Finanze*" of LUIGI COSSA, Professor in the University of Pavia. With an introduction and notes by Horace White. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

† *The Present Condition of Economic Science and The Demand for a radical Change in its methods and aims.* By EDWARD CLARK LUNT, A.M. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

to review the present condition of Political Economy and to reach some general conclusions about its prospects. He first considers what is urged against the science on account of the disagreements of its votaries and shows that a good deal of this dissension is not in the field of economics proper but in applied economics or in more general terms, politics. He defends the strictly scientific character of Political Economy. It investigates laws of social life, but does not provide rules of action. He then discusses the method of the English school of economists and defends it from the ill-judged if not ignorant criticism with which it has been deluged of late. The "New Economy" is reviewed in two chapters and shown to be in its essential characteristics not new. Mr. Lunt almost goes so far as to say in the familiar epigrammatic phrase: "What is true in it is not new, and what is new is not true." He distinctly affirms that all the best English economists have followed the method prescribed by the new Economists, whom he is consequently compelled to liken to "the French people, who according to a nice observer, do not know what they want, and are never satisfied until they get it." Political Economy as it exists to-day and comprises a body of scientific knowledge is the work of the English Economists. The new economists are doing useful work, but it is chiefly when as regards method, they follow in the footsteps of Adam Smith, and Mill. Mr. Lunt concludes with an exhortation for economists to cease wrangling about methods and to devote their energies to the pressing problems of the day. His essay is interesting, clearly written, and sprightly in style. His conclusions quite agree with our own on the points at issue, and we hope that his discussion will lessen the availability of the words "orthodox," "English," or "Manchester school," as epithets of vituperation.

THE BIBLE DOCTRINE OF INSPIRATION.*—In this book a prominent Baptist theological professor gives the results of twenty-five years of study and teaching on the doctrine of inspiration. The discussion is comprehensive and somewhat elaborate and careful. The divisions of the subject are well made and clear. The treatment is perspicuous. All extraneous matter is excluded.

In the chapter on the six different theories of inspiration, the

* *The Bible Doctrine of Inspiration Explained and Vindicated.* By BASIL MANLY, D.D., LL.D., Professor in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Sons. 1888.

fairest and most satisfactory work is to be found. The third part of the book, which deals with objections, contains a considerable quantity of valuable material. While the facts which the volume contains are important and are carefully arranged, nothing new is to be found, or freshly stated.

The author's acquaintance with the literature of the subject has not helped him to any great extent, inasmuch as the principle through which he views everything prevents his seeing what he is not looking for. The fact is, this book is an attempt to explain and vindicate a certain theory. The author is an advocate throughout. The title itself is specious. He is not at all concerned to discover and present the Bible doctrine of inspiration, as the title would lead us to infer, but he is anxious to present his own view and then get the Bible sanction for it.

The supreme aim is to prove the absolute infallibility of the Scriptures, for to him inspiration means infallibility or it means nothing. His method is antiquated and anti-scientific. He is not a truth-seeker, but a view-defender. He does not seem to want all the facts, but only enough facts to render his view plausible. For the greatest part he is an extreme literalist in biblical interpretation, believing that God actually wrote the decalogue with *his finger*.

In a few places he departs from his literalism to make a point. Notably where he thinks Moses' statement about the prophet to be raised up like unto himself refers to the whole line of prophets and not to one prophet. There is also an amount of dogmatism in the book, which renders it somewhat offensive to an earnest truth-seeker.

When Dr. Manly quotes some adverse statement from such a writer as Dr. Ladd, he feels he has done his whole duty when he dismisses it by simply saying: "That does not agree with *our* view," or, "*I* do not find it so."

He emphasizes the human and divine elements in the Bible, but does not allow us to discriminate between them; it is all human and all divine. While discarding the mechanical theory he sympathizes with it, and it is difficult to see where his view, which he calls plenary inspiration, differs from the mechanical.

He assumes that man unaided could not transmit a revelation. That is, perhaps, true. But when he assumes that, when man is aided, he must be made infallible, he rests his assumption, not on facts, but on nothing. Man can not receive a written revelation

truthfully without divine aid. Granted he has divine aid, must he then receive that revelation infallibly?

He claims that unless the Bible is infallible, man has no divine revelation, that revelation perishes with the men to whom it was imparted, unless they made an infallible record of it. As an instance of his reliance upon his theory, and not upon scientific research, take the following: "It is impossible to maintain the absolute historical accuracy of the Gospel historians without also maintaining their inspiration (infallibility)." Then, we ask, why maintain it? Shall our theory over-ride the facts? Is it not better to build theories on facts rather than to do as he has done, refuse to see the facts unless they suit our theory? But why such perversion as the book contains? Dr. Shedd gave as a strong reason why he advocated the mechanical theory, that it was the easiest to defend. Dr. Manly seems to have been actuated in part by another motive. He wants to believe his theory. He needs it. For the standpoint from which he approaches the subject of inspiration is that of a conception of Christianity as a book-religion—as "a *system* divinely given."

To give authority to such a religion, there must be an infallible standard of truth, and this must be found in the words of Sacred Scripture. With such a conception of Christianity, it is no wonder that he grows warm in describing the terrible condition we should be in, if we had not an infallible book. The thought of Christianity as a life and of religion as something else than conformity in belief and practice to certain definite rules and precepts is wholly foreign to him. He believes the Bible was given us for the purpose of imparting infallibly accurate information on its various topics, rather than for the purpose of leading our souls into contact and communion with the life of God. Those who hold a more liberal and spiritual view and who believe that as long as we have the Christ of the Bible, who is the Christ of history, we do not need a book absolutely free from verbal, scientific, and historical errors, can well dispense with all such discussions and can trust the Bible to reverent critics who look only for the truth. We are sorry Dr. Manly did not catch something of the spirit of Prof. Ladd, whose excellent book he seems to have read.

C. L. DIVEN.

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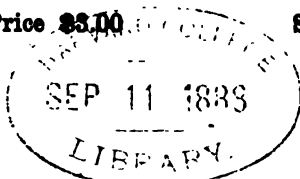
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SEPTEMBER, 1888.

ART. I. Some of the Advantages of the Union of Medical School and University.

*William H. Welch, M.D., Johns Hopkins University,
Baltimore, Md.*

II. The Historic Forces which gave rise to Puritanism.

William L. Kingsley, New Haven.

CURRENT LITERATURE.

Animal Magnetism. By Alfred Binet and Charles Féré.—Physical Expression, its Modes and Principles. By Francis Warner, M.D.—The Mind of the Child. Part I. By W. Preyer.—Comparative Physiology and Psychology. By S. V. Clevenger, M.D.—Psychical Research.—The Heart of the Creeds. By Arthur W. Eaton.—The Heath in the Wilderness, or Sermons to the People. By Rev. Richard Newton, D.D.—Five-Minute Sermons to Children. By Rev. William Armstrong.—My Sermon Notes. By C. H. Spurgeon.—Theology of the Shorter Catechism. By Rev. A. A. Hodge, D.D., and Rev. J. A. Hodge, D.D.—The Story of the Psalms. By Henry Van Dyke, D.D.

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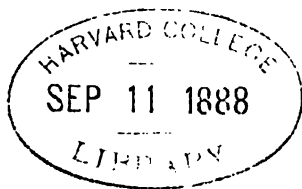
P. VARNUM MOTT, M. D., Boston, Mass., in the *Microcosm*, New York, February, 1886.—"There are numerous Foods that are much vaunted, and all have their adherents. The 'IMPERIAL GRANUM,' in my hands, seems to be all that is claimed for it, and experience has brought me to rely on its use where its special properties are indicated. In infantile diseases it has proved very efficacious, and I always direct its use when a child is being weaned."

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NEW ENGLANDER

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YALE REVIEW.

No. CCXXII.

SEPTEMBER, 1888.

ARTICLE I. — SOME OF THE ADVANTAGES OF THE UNION OF MEDICAL SCHOOL AND UNIVERSITY.*

It is a hopeful and gratifying circumstance that within the last few years universities in this country and in England have shown an awakened and enlightened interest in the advancement of medical science and the promotion of higher medical education. Among the most notable evidences of this interest is the recent organization at the great Universities of Oxford and of Cambridge in England of medical departments, not as detached schools, but as integral and coördinate parts of the university. The vivifying influence of this intimate connection between medical study and the university has made itself manifest in zeal for research, equipment of laboratories, improved methods of instruction, and a more orderly and systematic scheme of study.

* An Address delivered at Yale University, June 26th, 1888. By WILLIAM H. WELCH, M.D., Professor of Pathology in Johns Hopkins University.

If I mistake not the significance of the present occasion there are here in Yale University intelligent appreciation of the great purposes to be accomplished by promotion of the best medical education and a desire to render the medical department not less efficient than the other departments of this university.

The present occasion seems an appropriate one to consider some of the relations of medical education to the university.

In this country and in England medicine is taught chiefly in independent professional schools without any connection or with only a nominal connection with a university. An important distinction exists between the independent medical schools of the United States and those of Great Britain, in that our schools have the power of granting degrees, whereas medical degrees and licenses to practice medicine can be obtained in Great Britain only by passing examination at the universities or before the examining boards of certain corporations. The assumption by independent schools of medicine of the power of granting the doctor's degree, without any control from a university or from the State, is a main reason in this country for the lack of uniformity in medical education, for the enormous number of medical schools beyond all necessities of the community, for the ease with which medical degrees can be obtained, and for the consequent degradation in the significance and the value of the degree of doctor of medicine.

These and other evils of the system of medical education prevailing in this country, are widely appreciated and generally deplored by all who take an enlightened interest in the advancement of the science and art of medicine. They were made the subject of a vigorous address by the president of the American Medical Association at its last session. Probably none recognize more clearly the need of reform than many of the teachers in the best of our medical schools. In general they are to be credited with the desire to accomplish all that is possible in the face of such serious obstacles as the absence of endowments, and the consequent necessity of entering into competition with bad and indifferent schools. The introduction of requirements regarding preliminary education,

the lengthening of the period of study, and the establishment of suitable laboratories in several of our medical schools are among the evidences of this desire for reform.

It is not my purpose on this occasion to discuss the serious defects of medical education in this country, or the remedies for their removal. I have called attention to these defects in order to emphasize the widely recognized need for improvement, and the appreciation and support which would be accorded by the medical profession to intelligent efforts to advance the cause of medical education.

While not denying that the essential purposes of medical education can be attained by properly directed independent schools of medicine, I wish to point out some of the peculiar advantages and higher aims which should be associated with a medical department existing in intimate union with the other faculties of a university. To accomplish these purposes and to attain these aims, the medical department should not be dependent for its existence, merely upon the fees of students, but it should receive aid from the State, or better and more in accordance with the prevailing ideas concerning the support of higher education in this country, it should be amply endowed. To this fundamental point I shall return after indicating some of the especial benefits to be expected from such endowment.

Appeal might be made to history to illustrate the beneficial influence of the university upon the development of medicine. We should find in the University of Alexandria the highest development of medicine in antiquity, in Salerno, Civitas Hippocratica, the dawn of mediæval universities, in Montpellier, Bologna, and Padua, the overthrow of scholasticism in medicine and the revival of scientific investigation, in Leyden the complete adjustment of medicine to the new conditions, brought about by the overthrow of Galenism and by the discoveries in anatomy and physiology, above all by the discovery of the circulation of the blood by Harvey. From Leyden we could trace influences which have affected the organization and the methods of instruction in the leading medical schools of Europe.

But interesting as it might be to follow this historical path,

it is more pertinent to my present purpose to direct attention to existing conditions. What does the present state of medical education and science teach as to the best system of medical education?

It will doubtless be admitted by all whose knowledge enables them to form a competent judgment on the subject, that Germany to-day occupies the leading position in medical education and in medical science. Our own country has produced great physicians whose names are everywhere esteemed. It has contributed an honorable share to the advancement of the art of healing. The production of distinguished physicians, scientific investigation in all branches of medicine, the successful pursuit of the healing art are not the exclusive possession of any race or of any country. While all this is true, it must still be granted that in German universities (including those of Austria, Switzerland, and Russia) we find the most satisfactory and thorough teaching, and the most numerous and important discoveries in medicine. Every year a large number of medical students and physicians from this country visit these universities to find there advantages not to be obtained here.

If we attempted to analyze the causes of German preëminence in medical education, we should find that many causes combine to produce this result, but certainly not the least of these is the fact that medicine in Germany is taught only as a department in a university. Independent medical schools do not exist there. Something more than a feeling of piety for old forms has preserved the historic association of the medical with the other faculties. There is a conviction that the highest interests of medical education and science are best subserved by this association. This conviction is apparent in most of the German literature on medical education, and has been forcibly brought out in the discussions aroused by the proposal to establish in Austria one or more conjoint medical and scientific faculties in order to relieve the monstrous attendance of students in the medical department of the Vienna University.

I have not adduced the status of medical education in Germany in order to make propaganda for the transference to

our soil of German university methods. Here, as elsewhere, systems of education must be adapted to the special conditions of the country. There is no reason to suppose that the especial conditions of a German university are essential for the fructifying influence of the university upon medical education. In the University of Cambridge, England, there has developed under Michael Foster a school of physiology, which is clearly traceable to academic influences and which is an honor alike to the university and to English medicine. We should not be justified in supposing that such results can not be obtained under favorable conditions by independent medical schools, but experience demonstrates that the highest development of medical education is attained to-day as it has been in the past by the university system.

It is doubtless not essential to the conception of a university that it should comprise all of the four traditional faculties. This union, however, belongs to the historic conception of the university and adds to its completeness. We may rejoice that Yale University by conforming to this historic conception, has and will continue to have a larger measure of usefulness and honor. With adequate pecuniary support of the medical department, there is every reason to believe that the association of medical studies with this university will prove no less beneficent for medical education, no less fruitful for medical science than such association has proved in the instances which have been mentioned.

It is hardly necessary to say that these benefits are not the result of a merely formal connection of a medical school with a university. There are examples enough of this purely outward and nominal connection to show that this brings with it no saving power. There must be a union in spirit as well as in name. The influences of university methods and idea must manifest themselves in the medical department, sympathetic relations must exist with other departments through the connecting link of all, the philosophical faculty, and the coöperation must be obtained of those physical and natural sciences, physics, chemistry, zoology, comparative anatomy, and botany, knowledge of which is essential to a complete medical education and to scientific research in every branch of medicine.

From what has been said, we may conclude that there is great need for improvement in medical education in this country, that there is wide-spread demand for reform, and that experience has shown that the best results are obtainable by a well supported medical school in vital union with a university.

I wish now to point out more specifically some of the advantages which belong to the university system of medical education.

In the first place this system may be expected to maintain the proper balance between purely technical training in the medical art and cultivation of the medical sciences upon which this training should be based, or to express the same idea perhaps more intelligibly, although in somewhat crude and much abused terms, between the practical and the scientific side of medicine.

It is evident that the study of practical medicine should be preceded by the study of the structure and functions of the human body in health. What the body is and what it does in health must be known before there can be any understanding of what it is and what it does in disease. The normal and peaceful workings of nature must be comprehended before its disordered manifestations can be understood. Effectual and intelligent measures to prevent and to relieve disease, must be based upon the knowledge of the causes of disease and of the structural and functional disorders produced by disease. Anatomy, physiology, and pathology then must form the foundation of any substantial system of medical education. To any one who is familiar with the present state of these fundamental sciences, it must be clear that they can not be successfully taught and intelligently studied without thorough knowledge of physics, chemistry, and general biology.

Human anatomy must be pursued in the light of embryology and of comparative anatomy. It then becomes a fascinating study, full of meaning, instead of a mass of unrelated facts to the significance of which there is no clue. Physiology is in large part the application of physics and chemistry to the explanation and the investigation of the bodily

functions in health. To the employment of physical and chemical methods, physiology owes its position as the most exact of the medical sciences. "Physiologists," says Du Bois-Reymond, "should regard themselves as chemists and physicists who work only in a particular direction." Pathology, with its two divisions, pathological anatomy and pathological physiology, aims to discover the alterations in structure and in function induced by disease, and it requires no less than do normal anatomy and physiology the assistance of the biological, physical, and chemical sciences.

It is not necessary to elaborate here in detail all of the bearings of these sciences upon medicine. Enough has been said to make plain, that a good system of medical education must include thorough instruction in anatomy, physiology, and pathology grounded upon the natural and physical sciences. While this is generally conceded it is not the less true that these scientific branches of medicine do not receive the attention which they deserve in this country. With few exceptions, the instruction provided in our medical schools in these subjects is very defective, and the opportunities for their practical study meagre.

In a medical school permeated by the university spirit, and in intimate association with a university, these sciences can not fail to receive proper recognition. It is their presence in the medical curriculum which renders particularly appropriate the incorporation of a medical faculty in a university. They are capable of imparting to the study and the practice of medicine the intellectual enjoyment of scientific investigation. Universities have always kept alive the ideal that the interests of life are not wholly material, but that they are spiritual and intellectual as well. May the time never come when this ideal shall be replaced by the estimate of knowledge, solely for its commercial value, or its immediate application to the practical necessities of life. Somewhat of this true university ideal should pervade medical study, if the practice of medicine is to be a profession and not a trade or a handicraft.

In a university medical school of the character indicated, we may look then for the highest cultivation of the medical sciences. These sciences will not be estimated solely by their

immediate or apparent practical bearings. With the scientific spirit thus engendered, we may expect to find an elevation of tone and a lofty ideal conducive to a high standard of education and fruitful in the best results for the character, the attainments, and the standing of the medical profession. Such a school in this country would give an impetus to higher medical education and would be an example and an incentive to other medical schools. It is of course not claimed that the results here indicated are possible only in a medical school in a university, but it will not be denied that the atmosphere of a university is particularly favorable for their attainment.

As already intimated the study of the scientific branches of medicine is to be in preparation for the study of practical medicine. The ultimate aim of medical education is and always should remain the prevention and the relief of disease. The scientific training has been emphasized, because it is the best preparation for practical medical studies. It is a narrow and short-sighted view which fails to recognize the essential importance in medical education of the study of the medical and related natural sciences. Before this audience there is no necessity of entering into any argument in opposition to such a view.

The development of scientific and of practical medicine during the last half century, has been so immense that the number and the extent of subjects to be mastered by the medical student are far greater than formerly and are constantly increasing. It is a matter for serious consideration, how to distribute these subjects in a medical course, so that each shall receive its proper share of attention. This occasion is not a suitable one to discuss this question, but in view of the emphasis which I have given to the study of the scientific subjects, and that there may be no misconception, I would say that, in my judgment, the last two years of a medical course should be given mainly to the study of the practical branches of medicine. This study I would have more practical and demonstrative than it is with us at present. Systematic lectures on the theory and practice of medicine and of surgery, could be in large part and with advantage replaced by clinical instruction and by recitations from text-books. A

little more than two hundred years ago, Sydenham replied to the physician who asked him what medical authors he should study, "Read Don Quixote." Such a reply would not be appropriate at the present day, when the abundance of excellent medical text-books renders no longer necessary mediæval methods of teaching.

A shorter period of medical study than four years seems to me possible only with a preliminary medical training such as is already furnished with excellent results in some of our universities and with a supplementary experience in a hospital.

Among the benefits to be expected from the vital union of a well endowed medical school with a university should be mentioned the encouragement of research. I am aware that this expression, encouragement of research, has become a catchword in many of our universities, playing with us much the same rôle as the *akademische Lehr- und Lern-Freiheit* in German universities. A high authority has been recently reported as saying that the encouragement of research embodies one conception of a university, and that this is the conception of a German university. How often from state and university authorities in Germany has protest been made against such an assumption! The encouragement of research is not the primary and fundamental conception in the organization and conduct of a German university, nor do I suppose such a conception to be the true university ideal. But *academia* and *schola* should be united in a university, and no one will question that in a place where the highest education in all branches of knowledge is sought and found, the conditions should be rendered favorable for productive activity in the search for truth.

Let medical education be brought under the academic influences of a university, and let well equipped and properly supported laboratories be supplied, then zeal for original investigation will surely be developed, bringing renown to the university and progress to medical science. Whoever has a patriotic interest in seeing this country contribute its proper share to the investigation and solution of the great problems which engage the thought of the medical world, greets with especial cordiality all intelligent efforts to develop in our

medical education the scientific spirit and to increase the facilities for independent research.

A distinguished professor of physiology in a German university, asked me not long ago: "What becomes of the young men from your country who work in our medical laboratories? While here they do good work and show an aptitude and capacity for scientific investigation, certainly not less than our native students. But after their return to America, we hear no more of them." I was obliged to explain to him, that the facilities and encouragement for carrying on scientific investigations in the medical institutions of this country are in general very meagre, and that one great impetus to such work is almost wholly lacking here, namely, the assurance or even likelihood that good scientific work will pave the way to an academic career. "When America does wake up to the necessity of these things," he replied, "then let Europe look to its laurels."

We are waking up to this necessity. An intelligent and wide-spread interest in this direction has been aroused. Witness the handsome bequests within the last few years for medical education, and the establishment of laboratories in many of our medical schools. The time is ripe, and who that has at heart the extended usefulness and the glory of this great university would not rejoice to see Yale in the van of this movement for higher medical education, and the advancement of medical science in this country.

The study of medicine offers now the attractions of a natural science. This is doubtless one of the reasons why an increasingly large number of young men who have had a liberal education select the medical profession. The problems which await the scientific mind which comes armed with physics, chemistry, and general biology, are not only in themselves of the greatest interest, but they relate to the welfare of humanity. Dogmas and exclusive systems of doctrine can no longer find a place in scientific medicine any more than in physics or chemistry. We seek the truth for its own sake, wherever and however we can find it.

In the nature of things the only side of medicine of much interest to the general public is the treatment of disease.

There is, however, in all departments of medicine a vast body of scientific truth the immediate application of which to the treatment of disease is not at present apparent. The medical sciences are in themselves and for their own sake as legitimate and worthy objects of pursuit as any other of the natural sciences. It is no less true here than it is in chemistry, physics and other sciences that discoveries of the utmost practical importance are made by those who do not select as their guiding principle the practical application of their work. A multitude of instances might be cited to show that those who work in laboratories and without any thought of the possible usefulness of their discoveries contribute to better means of diagnosis and of treatment of disease as well as do the physician and the surgeon in the hospital.

If the general public better understood the rapid advances of medicine and of surgery during the last half century and clearly appreciated the far reaching importance for the preservation of health and the relief of disease of subjects which in all departments of medicine now engage attention, I believe that there would be no lack of means for the best medical education and for the prosecution of medical investigations in this country.

Herophilus said that the best physician is he who knows the possible from the impossible. There is truth in this saying, but many things which were impossible to the physician in the days of Herophilus are possible now, and who shall say what is impossible for those who are to follow us.

Consider for a moment the immense progress which has been made during the last few years in our knowledge of the causation of infectious diseases, those most terrible scourges of mankind. Who could have foreseen that the little vegetable organisms which were studied over fifty years ago so minutely by Ehrenberg were destined to become so important to the physician and surgeon. Among them to-day we recognize the specific causes of tuberculosis, of leprosy, of Asiatic cholera, of typhoid fever, of relapsing fever, of malaria, of erysipelas, of traumatic infections, and of a number of other diseases of human beings and of animals. Even the chemical substances by the production of which these microscopic organisms poison the system have in some instances been isolated in a crystalline

form. Some time ago a work on lock-jaw was introduced by the legend, *causa obscura, vis notissima est*. To-day we can say that there is no disease the cause of which is better understood, for we know not only the living germ which produces traumatic tetanus but also the habitat of this germ and the chemical substance by the production of which its destructive agency is effected.

It would be rash to attempt to forecast the practical importance of these discoveries. Already they have led to such modification and perfection of surgical methods that the infection of wounds from the exterior may be rendered impossible. Antiseptic surgery is a boon to humanity of not less value than the introduction of vaccination and the discovery of anæsthetics.

The discovery of the causative agents of a number of infectious diseases and the possibility of studying the characters of these agents, the conditions favorable and those hostile to their development have proven of great service to public hygiene and have stimulated increased interest in this most important subject. The establishment of hygienic laboratories in the leading universities of Germany is traceable in large measure to the recognition of the importance of bacteriology in the study of epidemic diseases and in other matters pertaining to public health.

The value of a well equipped hygienic laboratory to a community is well illustrated in Munich. In the admirable hygienic institute in that city are studied under Pettenkofer's direction questions relating to sewage, drinking water supply, ventilation, the construction of slaughter houses, and similar subjects. Public spirit has there been stimulated and so intelligently directed that the sanitary arrangements of Munich are now among the best on the continent of Europe and the city has been transformed under adverse natural conditions from among the most unhealthful to one of the most healthful. The professor of pathology there complains that he is no longer able to demonstrate to the student the lesions of typhoid fever.

The study of hygiene has become so specialized that degrees in public health are now given in England and the demand is made that medical health officers shall possess such diplomas as

evidence of special training for their duties. I am not aware that in this country opportunities are afforded for the study of hygiene in a manner at all commensurate with its modern development and importance. We may expect, however, that with increased facilities for higher medical education hygienic laboratories will be established which shall meet the demands of the times.

I have selected the recent discoveries in the causation of infectious diseases as it seems pertinent to my purpose before an audience not composed wholly of medical men to illustrate the progress of medicine. It might be useful to indicate still further the character and the importance of subjects which are now prominent in the different departments of medicine but time bids me return to the more direct elucidation of my theme.

I wish now to call attention to a very practical advantage in making a medical school a department of a university. This advantage relates to economy of organization. A university provides for the study of certain subjects which either are included in a medical course or should be required in a course preliminary to the study of medicine. The most important of these subjects are chemistry, physics, botany, zoology, and comparative anatomy. These subjects are included in the medical course in Germany, where they form the major part of the first two years' study in preparation for the *examen physicum*. They are studied, however, in the philosophical and not in the medical faculty.

In the medical schools of this country no provision is generally made for the study of these sciences with the exception of chemistry, and there is probably no more unsatisfactory feature in our medical courses than the teaching of chemistry. As a rule the instruction is chiefly in inorganic and organic chemistry. Physiological chemistry in the modern acceptation of the term is taught scarcely at all, nor can it be to advantage without preliminary training in inorganic and organic chemistry. There is of course just as much propriety, but no more, in including inorganic and organic chemistry in a strictly medical course as in including physics, botany, and comparative anatomy. If a medical school provides for instruction in inorganic and organic chemistry, it should also

make provision for these other subjects. This would involve duplicating at great expense institutes already amply provided for at universities, and it is not likely that such institutes in exclusive dependence upon a medical school would flourish.

There is no doubt that the sciences under consideration belong to the general scheme of medical education. If they be included in the curriculum of a medical school as is the case in Germany and imperfectly so in this country, there is the strongest reason that the medical school should be associated with a university where adequate provision is made for their study. The small measure of success attending the study of inorganic and organic (excluding physiological) chemistry in our medical schools does not encourage us to hope that the establishment of institutes for the study of other physical and natural sciences under similar conditions would yield better results. The school of medicine in Paris is essentially independent of the other faculties of the university and supplies its own professorships of physics, chemistry, and the natural sciences. With reference to this arrangement, Du Bois-Reymond, one of the greatest living physiologists, says, "To the training of the French medical students in the natural sciences by lectures *ad hoc*, although often held by the most excellent men, to their nurture in the atmosphere of a practical professional school in which physics and chemistry are called *sciences accessoires*, I am inclined to attribute the backward position in which, in spite of the appearance of such a man as Claude Bernard, the study of physiology in France, in comparison with Germany, has in general remained."

There have been established within recent years in our colleges and scientific schools, courses of instruction which are intended to be preliminary to the study of medicine, and which are admirably adapted for their purpose. These courses, which, so far as my knowledge extends, are somewhat peculiar to this country, give promise of great usefulness and should receive every encouragement. They are the natural outgrowth on the one hand of the defects in our system of medical education, and on the other hand of the direction in which our colleges have developed.

Here I can not refrain from expressing the hope that these

courses preliminary to the study of medicine may be recognized in the academic as well as in the scientific departments of our colleges. I am well aware that here I am treading upon dangerous ground. In support of this proposition I would present the following considerations.

If a young man choose the medical profession he should devote at least four years to medical studies including the preliminary sciences. One who has had a liberal education will probably supplement this with a year and a half in hospital experience, the value of which can not be overestimated. He is likely then to devote himself for a year or two to special professional studies, often in a foreign university. If this course of professional study, which is not longer than many pursue, is begun at the age when most young men are now graduated from our leading colleges, then he will not be able to enter upon the active duties of his professional life before thirty years of age or thereabouts. When one considers the long period of waiting and struggle before a successful practice is secured, it will be generally admitted that this is altogether too advanced an age for the beginning of active professional work. I know of instances where this consideration has stood in the way of young men enjoying the benefits of a college course. This condition of things has also proven a serious obstacle to lengthening the period of professional study, a reform which is imperatively demanded.

Doubtless, as has been recently suggested by President Eliot, improvements should be made in the primary and preparatory schools so that the average age of admission to college may be lowered, without materially diminishing the requirements for admission. If, in addition to this, the last two years of the college course can be devoted mainly to studies bearing directly upon medical education, the evil here depicted would be largely overcome. These studies are not professional. They belong in themselves to a liberal education and are best pursued without reference to their practical bearings. They therefore appropriately find place in the college curriculum. It may be that such a plan as that suggested is contemplated here. It would seem that with possibly some increase in the opportunities for biological studies such a scheme would in-

volve no radical changes in the present course and would be in the line of development of the college.

To return after this digression to our subject, it may be said that even if chemistry (with the exception of physiological chemistry), physics and the biological sciences before mentioned should be relegated wholly to the so-called preliminary medical courses, it would remain no less desirable that the medical school should be united with the university. The relation of medicine to these sciences is too intimate to suffer divorce from them without detriment. Suitable provision for the study of the preliminary medical sciences in a university is in itself a condition most favorable for the development in the same atmosphere of a medical school. It would often happen that a student finds it necessary to make up some deficiency in one or another of the natural sciences, while pursuing his medical studies, and opportunity for this conjoint study, for which other occasions would also arise, should be present. In the relation, then, of medicine to certain of the natural and physical sciences is to be found one of the most important advantages of the association of a medical school with a university.

Physiological psychology is a subject which should be mentioned as pertaining to medicine as well as to philosophy. Its successful cultivation requires the aid of physiology, anatomy, and psychiatry. Opportunity for the pursuit of this subject should be afforded to those engaged in medical studies. Psychology, however, belongs to the philosophical and not to the medical faculty. This affords another illustration of the mutual benefit resulting from the association of these faculties. We may also expect this association to further the study of the history of medicine, a subject which notwithstanding its interest and value is much neglected. Nothing is more liberalizing and conducive to medical culture than to follow the evolution of medical knowledge.

Finally it may be urged with propriety that a medical department under the administration of a university is a more suitable object for endowment and is more likely to receive bequests of money than are most of our independent medical schools. Those who are acquainted with the organization of these independent schools will not find it difficult to understand

why so few endowments in support of medical education in this country have been given.

The first large pecuniary bequest in behalf of medical education in this country was made by Johns Hopkins. This has been recently followed by the Vanderbilt gift to the medical department of Columbia College in New York and by several similar bequests chiefly for the construction of laboratory buildings.

There is no department of higher education which to-day in this country stands so much in need of pecuniary endowments as that of medicine. The relation of medical education to the public welfare renders especially urgent its claims in this regard. A system of medical education in accordance with modern ideas and adapted to present demands can not be maintained without endowment or State aid. More is required than didactic and clinical lectures and the simple appliances of former times. There is need of thoroughly equipped laboratories, which, if properly conducted, can not be made self-supporting. In most of the German universities nearly three times as much money is paid for the support of the laboratories required by the medical faculty as is given in salaries to the medical professors. The medical school must be lifted above the necessity of obtaining its means of existence solely from the fees of students, if a high standard of education is to be attained. At present it would be suicidal for an unendowed medical school to adopt an ideal course of medical instruction. Under present conditions such a school is likely to make its requirements no higher than is demanded by the students themselves.

The manifold benefits which I have attempted in part to depict as resulting from the union of medical school, and university can not be secured to any appreciable degree without endowment.

I can not conclude this address without saying a few words concerning the advantages which this university presents for the development of medical education along the lines which have been suggested. Here in my judgment are conditions most favorable for the development of a university school of medicine which shall meet modern demands. The only doubt which can arise on this point in the mind of any one is whether

there is a sufficient number of patients for clinical instruction. This doubt is not justified by the facts. Of the twenty universities in Germany, all with medical faculties, thirteen are in towns with smaller population than that of New Haven. In this list are included such famous medical schools as those of Bonn, Göttingen, Greifswald, Heidelberg, Tübingen, Würzburg. This comparison does not lose all force even if allowance be made for the special conditions which favor a relatively larger attendance of patients in the German hospitals. A growing city of 80,000 inhabitants should furnish material adequate for the essential needs of clinical instruction. I am informed by those in a position to know that there is sufficient material here for thorough clinical teaching.

Certainly it is desirable to have as large clinical material as possible, but it is an error to suppose that medical schools can flourish only in connection with large metropolitan hospitals. Even for clinical instruction there are not a few advantages associated with the smaller medical schools. Billroth, one of the most distinguished clinical teachers living, advises medical students to avoid the large and crowded universities, and that too in order to obtain their early clinical instruction. Clinical teaching does not consist simply in the exhibition of a large number of cases of disease. Methods of examination are to be taught. The art of obtaining all of the subjective and objective symptoms, the modes of physical examination, the use of electricity, of the laryngoscope and of the ophthalmoscope, the application of the microscope and of chemical analysis to diagnosis, in a word all that belongs to the propædeutics of clinical study must be learned. This propædeutical clinical instruction, which is too much neglected, does not require a large number of patients and can not be satisfactorily imparted to a large class of students. After this careful clinical training, the larger metropolitan hospitals and clinics can be visited with advantage.

Granted then that the conditions for clinical instruction furnish no obstacle to the development of this medical school, there remain all of the advantages of association with the university.

Here are already established laboratories for all of the natural

sciences, the importance of which for the study of medicine has been emphasized. There are already admirable opportunities for the study of physiological chemistry, which, to the best of my knowledge, is nowhere else in this country so adequately represented.

Laboratories for studies and original investigations in anatomy, physiology, pathology, hygiene, and experimental therapeutics are needed. These above all are the medical subjects which can be cultivated nowhere more successfully than under university influences and in coöperation with other natural sciences. The atmosphere of a university town free from the distractions of a large city is most favorable for the scientific pursuit of these fundamental branches of medicine.

To reap the fruit of these advantages the medical department must receive large pecuniary aid. The Yale medical school has an honorable history; but it can not to-day attain the height of its endeavor or meet the demands for higher medical education without a considerable endowment.

In no other direction could this university expand with greater promise of usefulness and of renown than in the line of liberal support of the highest and most scientific medical education.

ARTICLE II.—THE HISTORIC FORCES WHICH GAVE
RISE TO PURITANISM.*

OVER the principal entrance to this church an inscription was placed, not many years ago, by one† who will long be remembered here with affection, which records the fact that “a company of English Christians, led by John Davenport and Theophilus Eaton, were the founders of New Haven,” and that “here they built their first house of worship.” Underneath this church, where we are now gathered, reposes their dust; yet their blood is still throbbing in the veins of the men and women who are around us. On the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the landing of that company of English Christians on these shores, we cannot but direct our thoughts to them. The impress of what they did is upon all about us. Even these streets, this Green, so much more spacious and convenient than anything which had been planned on this continent before their time, bear testimony to the enlightened views which they had of what a city should be. Even we ourselves, our conceptions of life, our tastes, our very prejudices, are the result, in no small degree, of ideas of right and of duty which led them to brave the sea and all the dangers of an unknown wilderness. To-day that company of English Christians,—the forefathers of this town,—walk these streets once more. There is no one so thoughtless, who has not asked himself what manner of men they were. There is no one so well acquainted with their history who will not find that a new consideration of what it was that they undertook to do, and of the results which they accomplished, will serve as an ennobling force to give him fresh inspiration for his own narrower round of duty.

But the story of what that company of English Christians did has been so often told, that I shall not attempt to tell it

* An Address on the occasion of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of New Haven, April, 1888, before the Congregational Club, delivered in the Center Church, by WILLIAM L. KINGSLEY.

† Rev. Leonard Bacon, D.D.

over again. It has seemed to me that it might better serve the purpose of this hour, and enable us to get a more lifelike conception of the personality of the founders of our town, if I were to recall to your minds what were some of the historic forces which made them what they were. The age which gave them birth was not isolated from those which preceded it. The ages are all interlocked. That which precedes always prepares the way for that which succeeds. Their age was the legitimate outcome of the ages which had gone before, as our age has felt the shaping influences and is the product of the age in which they lived. They were as truly the children of their past as we are of our past. Bear with me then, if I ask you to go back with me for a few moments to a period as far before them as the period of their settlement of New Haven is before us. Such a consideration of some of the historic forces which made them what they were may not be without its value.

If we thus go back two hundred and fifty years before the founding of New Haven, we come to the fourteenth century. I will remind you that this was long before the discovery of America by Columbus. The nations of the continent of Europe had hardly emerged from the chaos of feudal warfare. The great nobles had still so much power that they were the rivals even of their sovereigns, and were ever combining against them or against each other, whenever ambition or some fancied grievance tempted them. The Church too had lost much of the power of a living faith. The ecclesiastical dignitaries had become, to a great extent, as mundane and as ambitious as the nobles. A large part of them had given themselves up to a life of self-indulgence. The gluttony of the monks was proverbial. St. Bernard, centuries before, complained that there were bishops who had so many different kinds of wine on their tables that it was impossible even so much as to taste the half of them. We read of the monks in a certain monastery who complained of their abbot because he had reduced their ordinary dinners from sixteen to thirteen dishes. As for the laity, there was no independent thought among them, no independent action.

But things had begun everywhere to take an upward tendency. The commercial activity, started by the Crusades, had served to break down many of the barriers which had separated the people of different countries. The cities which had their rise in the twelfth century had acquired franchises and privileges, and the burghers had learned many lessons in freedom. Universities had been established, and though the learned doctors who had been trained in them expended their strength in the unprofitable word-splittings of the scholastic philosophy, yet learning was preserved, and the intellects of an ever increasing multitude of students were sharpened into activity. The Christian Church also, so democratic in its organization, which through the Middle Ages had been the protector of the weak against the strong, still, notwithstanding its degeneracy, preached the doctrines of kindness and charity, and was an ever present protest against the excesses of strife and violence.

England, at the period to which we have gone back, was in many respects one of the least important of the States of Europe. In population it was far inferior. The mass of its inhabitants were occupied with the cultivation of the soil. The national wealth consisted in flocks, and herds, and the harvest of the year. Credit was unknown. To be sure, English sailors from the Cinque Ports had made themselves at home on the sea. A few manufactures were carried on, though they were of the rudest kind. But compared with the nations of Southern Europe, or with those great cities which were growing up in the Low Countries and in Italy, England held a very inconsiderable position.

Its inhabitants were a coarse and even a brutal people. The grandees of the royal and imperial courts of Italy and of Constantinople, the merchant princes of Venice, of Genoa, of Pisa, of Bruges, and of Antwerp, looked on them as little better than barbarians. They were thoroughly rude and uncultivated. The stock from which they had originally come was a coarse one. No one of the savage tribes which had overrun the Roman Empire was more fierce or more cruel than those Saxons, and Angles, and Jutes, and Frisians, who had come

over from their primeval forests to ravage and butcher, and finally to settle themselves in that foggy island, which was naturally only a little more habitable than their own muddy swamps in Jutland. Mr. Taine has described them in language which it may be worth while to repeat: "Huge white bodies, cold blooded, with fierce blue eyes, reddish flaxen hair, ravenous stomachs, filled with meat and cheese; of a cold temperament, prone to brutal drunkenness! Pirates! They had found that of all kinds of hunting, the man-hunt was the most profitable and the most noble! From that moment, sea-faring, war, and pillage became their ideal of a freeman's work. So they left the care of their land and flocks to the women, and in wretched boats of hide dashed to sea in their two sailed barks, and landed anywhere; killed everything; and having sacrificed in honor of Odin and Thor the tithe of their prisoners, and leaving behind them the red light of their burnings, went further on to begin again. 'Lord,'—says a certain litany—'deliver us from the fury of the Jutes!' Of all barbarians, they were the strongest of body, the most formidable, and the most cruelly ferocious." For centuries the descendants of these vikings had fought with the Britons, and fought with each other, and there had been little to elevate or refine them. In due time, they had accepted the Christian religion, and they had made some considerable advances towards civilization; but a state of things still existed among them in the fourteenth century which to us at the present day seems little better than anarchy. It was the period of the "hundred years war" waged in France by the English kings for the possession of the throne of that country. During that war, English soldiers had become accustomed to deeds of outrage, and had been trained to the work of plunder, in all its various forms,—the pillage of farm houses, the sack of cities, the ransom of captives! The feeling common among them was expressed by the soldier who exclaimed: "If God had been a soldier nowadays, he would have been a marauder!" It is not surprising that on the return of these men to England, lawlessness and brutality reigned without check. The historian Green says of this period, that houses were sacked, judges were overawed or driven from the bench, peaceful men were hewn

down by assassins or plundered by armed bands, women were carried off to forced marriages, elections were controlled by brute force, parliaments were degraded into camps of armed retainers. Hume says, "No subject could trust to the laws for protection. Men openly associated themselves, under the patronage of some great baron, for their mutual defence. They wore public badges, by which their confederacy was distinguished. They supported each other in all quarrels, iniquities, extortions, murders, robberies, and other crimes. Their chief was more their sovereign than the king himself. There was perpetual turbulence, disorder, and faction." Jessop, an English antiquary, says: "If a man had a claim on another for a debt, or a piece of land, or a right which was denied him, or even if he thought he had, he found no difficulty in getting together a score or two of ruffians to back him in taking the law into his own hands." The books are full of the stories of outrage and savagery, that were constantly occurring. The villein who had run away from his lord and become an outlaw, the broken soldier returning penniless from the wars, found shelter and wages in the homes of the greater barons, and furnished them with a force ready at any moment for violence or strife. It was the recognized custom of the time. It was even reduced to a system, and was known by the name of "maintenance." England was divided into numberless hostile camps. The state of things was little better than that of an armed truce. Every one was attached to some one of the warring factions, and these might come to blows any day on the slightest provocation. 'The yeomen and even the lords of the manor everywhere put on the livery of some powerful baron in order to be able to secure aid and patronage in any fray or suit in which they might be engaged. Mr. Green says that, even in Parliament itself, "the White Rose of the house of York, the Red Rose of the house of Lancaster, the portcullis of the Beauforts, the pied bull of the Nevils, the bear and ragged staff of the Beauchamps, were seen on hundreds of breasts."

In further illustration of the condition of things in England at this time, Dr. Jessop says that in a small parish in Norfolk a certain John de la Wade got together a band of men,

invaded the manor of Hamon de Cleure, seized the grain, threshed it, cut down the timber, and carried off the whole. He then describes at length two other cases of a precisely similar kind which happened the same year in the same parish. He tells us also that two gentlemen of position went with twenty-five of their retainers to the Hall at Little Barningham, where lived an old lady, Petronilla de Gros, set fire to the house in five places, dragged the old lady out with brutal violence, and so worked upon her fears as to compel her to tell them where were her jewels and money. In another little parish, which he describes, he says the catalogue of crime for the year is so ghastly,—I use his own words,—“as positively to stagger one.” I will not take any account of the minor offenses which, as he says, were brought to trial before the courts, or give the details of the worst crimes which he describes; but he says that, in that small parish, in one year, eight men and four women were murdered, and that there were besides five fatal fights.

The degree of civilization to which the people of England had then attained can be estimated from the way in which they lived. Dr. Jessop tells us that the greater part of the people lived in houses which were no better than what we should call hovels. They were covered with turf, and sometimes with thatch. None of them had chimneys. They had not even windows. The hole in the roof which let out the smoke rendered windows unnecessary. Even in the houses of the nobility, windows were rare. Oiled linen cloth served to admit a feeble semblance of light and keep out the rain. In the houses of the laborers, the fire was in the middle, and around it the laborer and his wife and children huddled. Going to bed meant flinging themselves down on the straw, as now in a gypsy's tent. Dr. Jessop says that the food of the majority of the people of England was of the coarsest description. The poor man's loaf was black as mud and as tough as shoe leather. In the winter time, turf was burned; but the horse and sheep and cattle were half starved for at least four months in the year, and one and all were much smaller than they are now. There were no potatoes, and the absence of vegetables for the greater part of the year, together with the

utter disregard of all hygienic laws, made diseases of all kinds frightfully common. As for the laborer's dress, it was a single garment, a kind of tunic leaving the arms and legs bare, with a girdle of rope or leather tied round the waist, in which a knife was stuck to use sometimes in hacking his bread, sometimes for stabbing an enemy in a quarrel.

Dr. Jessop adds that if the houses of the laborers were squalid, and dirty, and dark, the homes of the employers of labor were not much better. In the homes of the nobles and of the gentry, and in some of the more richly endowed of the monasteries, there might be more provision for comfort; but, even centuries later, fresh straw was laid down daily in the palace of the king. Coarseness and want of refinement characterized the gentry and the nobles. Their ignorance was great. Their tastes were low. Anthony Wood, the historian of the University of Oxford, tells a story of a baron of that day at whose castle two students presented themselves and sought an introduction by sending in their academical credentials, in which, among other accomplishments, they were described as gifted with a poetical vein. But so far was the baron disposed to treat them with the slightest respect, that he ordered that they should be put in two buckets over a well and be dipped alternately into the water until each should produce a couplet on his awkward situation. The historian says that it was not till after a considerable number of duckings that the unfortunate students finished the rhymes, while the baron and his retainers stood around during the process of concoction, and made themselves merry over these involuntary ascents and descents.

I have carried you back with me in English history just about as far before the time of the landing on these shores of the founders of this town, as the period of their landing is before this anniversary occasion. I have done this because in order to form any adequate conception of what they and the other men of the seventeenth century were, it is necessary to understand what the men of England were who preceded them in the fourteenth century. Just as to have any proper appreciation of the sun in its early dawn, while it is still struggling

with the mists of morning and its rays are obscured and the air is damp and chill, it is necessary to go back, in thought at least, to the thick darkness that one short hour before covered all. It would seem as if it were hardly necessary to remind you that, according to the unalterable laws of nature, the dawn with all its incompleteness must ever precede the day. Yet there have always been, and always will be, sentimental people, who dissatisfied with the dull routine of their lives, will delight to deceive themselves, and will plaintively sigh for the good old days, and imagine that, at some remote period in the past, there was a fabulous age, in which the early dawn lighted up and gilded the world as gloriously as the sun in mid heavens. But this is all a dream. The facts stubbornly refuse to countenance a belief in any such period. They point to the future as the only golden age. It is because so many persons have not understood this, that they have actually supposed when they have heard of the darkness of the past, of its narrowness, its bigotry, its cruelty, that these were the special characteristics of the Puritans, that it was the Puritans who were in some way responsible for all that is so repulsive; when it was the Puritans who, although not entirely free from the effects of the influences under which they had been educated, grappled, with resolute and intrepid spirit, with the abuses of their time, and sought to clear them away and bring in something better.

The description I have given of England in the fourteenth century is very imperfect. Any description, so brief as such an hour as this allows, must be entirely inadequate. Yet perhaps it has served to remind you what thick darkness then covered England. That century and the centuries before it have been called the centuries of death. They were so indeed! Yet perhaps they might better be called centuries of birth. But the processes by which the development of life proceeded were so painfully slow that we grow weary as we trace them in our histories, and even from century to century we can hardly assure ourselves that there has been any substantial progress; or scarcely that there is any life at all,—death and life seem to contend together so long for the mastery. To watch the struggle between the new life and the old death is like watching the slow coming on of the belated spring.

With our idea of the orderly ongoing of the business of life in a civilized community, it is simply impossible to understand the contrasts then presented in England. We have them described however by men whose testimony is unimpeachable, by men too who described them from different points of view and for different purposes. One of the witnesses is Wycliffe—a scholar who had been at first drawn away from his academic studies by the necessity of appearing in the defence of the rights of the crown against Roman aggressions. As the struggle went on, he was brought to realize how little the church, as then constituted, was doing for the spiritual interests of the people, and he conceived the idea of translating the Bible for their use. But the first of the reformers came too soon. Another contemporary witness is William Longland, the poet of the poor. A third is the genial Chaucer,—the poet of the brightest side of the life of the period. Longland and Chaucer have been called Puritan poets, though they lived before what is distinctively called the Puritan age. They substantially agree as to the disheartening character of the outlook. Peterkin, the ploughman, pictures the woes of the laboring classes, the vices and the abuses that reigned everywhere, and especially the moral destitution of the people. He arraigns the church as responsible for it. He boldly attacks its corruptions. He pictures its worldliness, and the carelessness of its dignitaries. He describes the hypocrisy, the ignorance, the insolence, the immorality of the ecclesiastics. He professes himself to be in despair, and finds his only comfort in the hope that there may yet be a thorough religious reformation. In opposition to all the perfunctory formalities prescribed by the church, he proclaims that a righteous life is far better than a host of indulgences. Chaucer draws attractive pictures of the well-to-do citizens of different ranks, the doctor, the man of law, the clerk, the franklin, the squire, the parson, the friar, the miller. He does this with a lightness and brilliancy of touch, with a geniality and human sympathy which has delighted all succeeding generations; yet, through all, the self-indulgence and indolence and carelessness of the ecclesiastics are plainly revealed, and their neglect of the spiritual interests confided to their care. With these witnesses

before us, the question cannot but arise, how could the England of Piers Ploughman, and the England of Chaucer exist side by side? That they did, there can be no question. I have thought that the strange contrasts which then existed, and which Longland and Chaucer reveal, are perhaps well illustrated by the scenes in an English novel, which not long ago was widely read and admired; though it describes a very different period of English history. I refer to a picture of English rural life, most attractive in many respects, as it existed in the latter part of the seventeenth century. I refer to *Lorna Doone*, written by R. D. Blackmore. Those of you who have read the work will remember that the reader is introduced into the charming home of an English yeoman. Nothing in English literature is more beautiful than the description which is given of the order and regularity with which everything proceeds in this almost ideal farm house. But within a few miles live a nest of brutal outlaws,—all men, it is well to notice, in whose veins flow the blood of the nobility of England. These outlaws subsist by regular systematic robbery. There is no farm house that is not at any time in danger of a visitation; no family that is not liable to be waked at night and to find ricks, and barns, and the house itself, in a blaze; no family that does not know that if they have gained for themselves the enmity of these men, they may be exposed, as they attempt to make their escape,—men, women, and children,—to the merciless shots of these midnight marauders. This was the state of things in England half a century after New England was settled. Now in the fourteenth century it was immeasurably worse. Brigandage in a hundred forms was almost an every day occurrence. No pack wagon carried merchandise on any road of England, from town to town, without the protection of an armed guard. Yet, notwithstanding every precaution, it was liable to be stopped on the highway by a stronger force, its contents seized and carried off. Dr. Jessop says of this period, after a detail of particulars which are too revolting for repetition: "It is impossible to realize the hideous ferocity of the state of society at this time. The women were as bad as the men, furious beldames, dangerous as wild beasts, without pity, without

shame, and without remorse, who finding life so cheerless, so hopeless, so very, very dark and miserable, when nothing else was to be gained by killing anyone else, killed themselves." And yet at that very time the courts were everywhere open. Judges rode their circuits, and bishops made their regular visitations. Such were the amazing contrasts that England presented in the fourteenth century.

I shall not undertake to give anything like a description of events between the fourteenth and the seventeenth centuries; but I will remind you that of the two hundred and fifty years between 1388 and the landing of that company of English Christians on these shores, the whole of the first half was little better than the fourteenth century. During a great part of it, the period of the Wars of the Roses, it was actually in many respects worse. It is true that there was progress, but it was hardly apparent at the time. At the end of the next hundred years, however, about the close of the sixteenth century, or at the close of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, a great change had become apparent. But you will notice that we have now come quite down to the time of the birth of John Davenport and Theophilus Eaton, and it is for this reason that we are interested to inquire what were the forces during the sixteenth century that brought about the change from the darkness of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. What were the influences under which the characters of the founders of New Haven were formed?

In attempting to answer this question, I remind you that England had been almost the last country in Europe to feel the effects of the intellectual regeneration which commenced in Italy on the arrival of the Greek scholars, who had fled from Constantinople upon its capture by the Turks in the fifteenth century. In each of the countries of Southern Europe, the effects of the "new learning," as it was called, which these Greek scholars brought, were felt in the stimulus that it gave to thought. Taine says, "Men then opened their eyes for the first time and saw." The first effect in each country was to destroy all interest in the native literature, which till then had given delight. But soon a new literature

arose, far more vigorous, and so full of freshness and beauty that it is still the admiration of the world. But, among those southern nations, the "new learning" to a great extent expended its power in the domain of literature. Yet it is to be noticed that, even in its influence on literature, its effects varied in different countries according to the race characteristics of the people. So in England, the effects of the "new learning" were felt in the line of the race characteristics of that people. But as the English were not predisposed to any special interest in the beautiful, in any of its forms, the revival in England was not at all of a literary or of an artistic character. The English were a practical people, and so the revival among them was distinguished by the effects which it produced in a practical way upon what had been from the first their strongest race characteristics—their religious spirit and the spirit of freedom which animated them. In England, the effect of the new learning was to give a new and rapid development to each of these.

The first of these race characteristics of the English people of which I will speak was their interest in religion. This was one of the marked characteristics of our Teutonic ancestors, when we first hear of them among the German forests. They had a predisposition to take serious views of life and to ponder the questions which relate to the hereafter. The people of Southern Europe were satisfied with the sensuous beauty of the visible. In the gloomy North, nature was everywhere so wild and savage that men seem to have been disposed to look beyond it, and, instead of resting in the contemplation of the visible which was so forbidding, to think of the Being to whom Nature owed its origin—a Being infinitely great, who could only be apprehended by the reverent mind. In the Eddas are preserved their first rude ideas. Coarse people, as they were, they loved to dwell on such high themes as Right, Duty, Responsibility, Honor, Heroism, Self-Sacrifice. Tacitus tells us that their preference was to live solitary, each one near the spring or the wood which had taken his fancy. Even when they dwelt in villages, each family lived apart. Each Teuton thought for himself. Each Teuton acted for himself.

All were distinguished for their reticence, their personal independence, their manly dignity, their marked individuality. To them life presented itself as a warfare, and in the Sagas it is the man who is loyal to the right, and is willing to sacrifice self, that is held up as worthy of the highest praise. I quote from a description of a warrior who in battle had refused to save himself, when his chief was in danger. He is represented as saying "I will not budge hence. I mean to die by my lord's side, near this man I have loved so much." Then we are told, "This warrior kept his word, the word he had given to his chief. He had sworn that they should either return to their homes together safe and sound, or that they should both fall together in the thick of the carnage, covered with wounds." The Saga closes, "The dead warrior lay by his chief's side, a faithful servant." After the old vikings had come to England to live, the first glimpse that we have of their descendants shows that they were true to their race instincts. Christian missionaries visited them, and addressed their king, as he was entertaining his chiefs at a feast. When the missionary had finished, a warrior arose and said, "You remember, O King, that which sometimes happens in winter when you are seated at table with your earls and thanes. Your fire is lighted, and your hall is warm, and without is rain and snow and storm. Then comes a swallow flying across the hall. He enters by one door and leaves by another. The brief moment while he is within is pleasant to him. He feels not rain nor cheerless wintry weather; but the moment is brief. The bird flies away in the twinkling of an eye, and he passes from winter to winter. Such methinks is the life of man on earth compared with the uncertain time beyond. It appears for a while, but what is the time which comes after, what the time which was before? We know not. If then, this new doctrine may teach us somewhat of greater certainty, it were well that we should regard it." The high priest then declared in presence of them all, that the old gods were powerless, that he knew nothing of that which he adored; and among the first, lance in hand, he assisted to demolish the temple where they had before worshiped.

This interest in the "time which comes after" and "the

time which was before," this desire to attain to greater certainty about the great questions which relate to the unseen and the hereafter never ceased to characterize the descendants of those old vikings. The lament of Piers Ploughman, and the writings of Wicliffe, even the gay verses of Chaucer, give evidence of the hold which these same ideas had on the English mind, even in those centuries when the church was most forgetful of its responsibilities. So when the "new learning" had begun in Italy to attract attention, we find that the men who first went there to study, Grocyn, Linacre, John Colet, did not go there simply for purposes connected with literature. It was for a very different object. They looked upon the Greek language as a key that would enable them to unlock the true meaning of the New Testament, in which they hoped to find that which would serve for the spiritual enlightenment of their countrymen. They kept this end steadily in view. Uninfluenced by the semi-infidel scholars with whom they came in contact, they remained true to the special object for which they had left their homes, and on their return to England, established themselves in the universities, and began with enthusiasm to expound the Gospel and the Epistles of St. Paul. They soon preached a new theology, not founded on the Fathers and the Schoolmen, but on the words of Scripture. They were met by a storm of opposition from the ecclesiastics. They replied by demanding that there should be a reform of life among the clergy. Colet, at the direction of Archbishop Warham, addressed Convocation, and said, "Would that for once you would remember your name and profession and take thought for the reformation of the Church! Never was it more necessary and never did the state of the church need more vigorous endeavors! We are troubled with heretics; but no heresy is so fatal to us and to the people at large as the vicious and depraved lives of the clergy. That is the worst heresy of all. The reform of the bishops must precede the reform of the clergy. The reform of the clergy will lead to a general revival of religion among the people at large. The accumulation of benefices, the luxury and worldliness of the priesthood, must be abandoned. The prelates should preach, should forsake the court, and labor in

their own dioceses. Care should be taken for the ordination and promotion of worthy ministers. Residence should be enforced. The low standard of clerical morality should be raised."

As the "new learning" spread, the attack on the ecclesiastics was taken up by others, prominent among whom was Erasmus, who wrote the "Praise of Folly," in which he exposed with such wit and eloquence the ignorance and the bigotry of the ecclesiastics, that to this day it holds its place as a classic. Colet, at his own expense, established a grammar school in London. His example was everywhere followed. Henry VIII., Edward VI., Elizabeth, went on with the work, and grammar schools were opened all over England. Everywhere there was seen an intellectual quickening. Parallel with this there was going on also an increase of wealth in the country. English merchants began to trade with all the cities of Europe. English ships were sent into the Baltic and crossed the Ocean. Manufactures began to receive attention. A social revolution was beginning to make itself felt, which was not confined to London. In all the towns of England wealth increased and men set higher value on education and intelligence.

Just at this moment, the friends of the "new learning" were able to give to the English people the Bible, which under the Roman system had been unknown among them, except to a few of the priesthood. In Germany, Luther had been a monk for years, when by an accident, as he was dusting the library of his monastery, he happened upon a copy of it. So in England, if the Bible had been known to the ecclesiastics, they had made no practical use of it. The Bible therefore came like a new revelation to a people who were thirsting for instruction. It was received as a fresh and inspired disclosure of the mind and will of God. The reverent submission which men had in former times been disposed to yield to the church was now at once transferred to that book. In place of the church, the Bible was accepted as the sole and sufficient authority. It served to assure the most humble believer that he might approach the Creator in direct and personal communion without the intercession of any so-called saint, and without the help of any priest.

But what gave the Bible its special power was its adaptation to the strongest of the race characteristics of the English people, the English predisposition to religion—the English conception of each man's own individuality and each man's own personal responsibility.

It may be said that the Bible has shown itself to be adapted to the race characteristics of every people. This is undoubtedly true, and this fact has even sometimes been urged as one of the proofs of its divine origin. It certainly has shown itself to be a book for the world, for all people. The Huguenot in France; the Camisards among the mountains of the Cevennes; the Waldenses in Italy; the Germans in the time of Luther; the people of Hindoostan and of the Islands of the Sea, the old and the young, the prosperous and the unfortunate, the joyful and the sad, in all generations, in all periods of life, and under all circumstances, have found that it meets their myriad experiences and necessities, and in each new joy or sorrow, the devout believer finds in it solace, encouragement, or warning. Before our Civil War, how often were we told that there was something in the Old Testament which took hold, in a wonderful manner, of the imaginations of the slaves of the South. The story of the exodus, the journey in the wilderness, the denunciations of the prophets against the oppressor, the encouraging words of the Psalmist, the glorious pictures of the New Jerusalem in the Book of Revelation, seemed just adapted to meet all the peculiar sorrows and all the hopes of that imaginative race. This is all true. Yet it does seem as if no people have ever found their race characteristics more completely met by the Bible than the English in the sixteenth century. In exact harmony with their ideas of individualism, which are as old as the race, it seemed to address itself to each one personally. It told him of his individual obligations to God. It presented God as a governor, as the giver of a perfect law, which every man knew he had broken. It presented a remedy offered by God, by which the majesty of law could be upheld and yet man might be saved. It met his views of duty, of right, of self-sacrifice.

It is difficult for us to appreciate the enthusiasm with which the Bible was received by the English people. Our literature

is so varied. Books of every description are so numerous, that only to hear of a new book often almost wearies us. Yet even in these later times, a book sometimes absorbs the attention of a whole people and moulds public opinion in a way that we can hardly understand. Mr. John Morley—in speaking of the appearance of a book written by a popular author just before the French Revolution of 1798, which has been sometimes numbered among the causes which helped to bring on that crisis among the French people—says: “The book-sellers were unable to meet the demand; the book was let out at the rate of twelve sous a volume, and the volume could not be detained above an hour. All classes shared the excitement, courtiers, soldiers, lawyers, and bourgeois. Stories were told of fine ladies dressed for the ball, who took up the book for half an hour, until the time should come for starting, who read until midnight, and when informed that the carriage waited, answered not a word, and when reminded by and by that it was two o’clock, still read on.” Now it is to be noticed that this book of which Mr. Morley speaks, was only one book, and it appeared in France at a time when there was already an abundant national literature. But the Bible is more than a single book. Within its covers is the whole national literature of the Hebrew people. “Legend and annal, war song and psalm, state roll and biography, the mighty voices of prophets, the parables of evangelists, stories of mission journeys, of perils by the sea and among the heathen, philosophic argument, apocalyptic vision; and all these were flung broadcast over minds unoccupied for the most part by any rival learning.” He who thinks of the Bible as a single book, loses much of the impression which it is calculated to make. It is in reality a collection of more than sixty books, and when those sixty books were first given to the English people, and Cranmer’s Bible was ordered to be read publicly in the churches, crowds rushed to hear it. Still more, when in 1576 the little Geneva Bible—then printed for the first time in Roman type, and in a form which could be carried by each man to his own home—was read by those who had little else to read, the effect was felt throughout the whole nation, and the whole conception of religion was changed.

Of the reality and extent of this change we have proof in the burst of welcome, with which in 1590, the great poem of Edmund Spenser was hailed—"The Faery Queen." In his earlier verses, Spenser had dared to hold up Archbishop Grindal, who was in disgrace for his Puritan sympathies, as the model of what a Christian bishop should be. In this new poem, he sought to describe the efforts of the man who is seeking to obtain the divine favor, and says that the character which is pleasing to God must bear the "lineaments of gospel books." The poem is a story of knight errantry, in the form of an allegory. In conformity with the popular taste, Spenser assigns a knightly champion to each virtue, and each of these knights is represented as entering upon the struggle with some particular form of sin. Mr. Green says that the poem both in its conception and in the way that the conception is realized, "struck the note of the coming Puritanism." It was "Puritan to the core." It at once became "the delight of every accomplished gentleman, the model of every poet, the solace of every soldier." Milton, a generation or two later, addressing the Parliament of England, said that Spenser was "a better teacher than Scotus or Aquinas." John Wesley, giving directions for the clerical studies of his Methodist disciples, recommended them to combine with the study of the Hebrew Bible and the Greek Testament, the reading of the "Faery Queen." Mr. Keble, the poet of the "Christian Year," describes the "Faery Queen" as "a continual, deliberate endeavor to enlist the restless intellect and chivalrous feeling of an inquiring and romantic age on the side of goodness and faith, of purity and justice." The wonderful popularity of such a poem is proof of the strength of the religious feeling which pervaded all classes of the English people at the close of the sixteenth century.

I pass now to another of the race characteristics of the English people, which was perhaps as strong as their predisposition to religion—their love of freedom. Tacitus bears testimony to the fact, that when the Romans first came in contact with our Teutonic ancestors, liberty was really a passion with them, and certainly, down to the accession of the

Tudor princes, nothing had ever occurred to break the free spirit which their ancestors brought from the forests of Germany. Notwithstanding what is called the "Norman Conquest," the inhabitants of England had never been depressed by the feeling that they were a conquered people. The "Norman Conquest" had proved a great blessing. It had served to unite all the various branches of the great Teutonic family, who had successively made homes for themselves on English soil with the aboriginal Britons. It had built up an English people. All the old distinctions of Saxon, and Mercian, and Northumbrian had been forever swept away by the coming of the Norman, and by the strong rule which he extended over all. And now, at last, in the fourteenth century, even the distinction of Norman and Saxon had passed away. There is not a word in Magna Charta which refers to any difference between the two races. Both are spoken of as English. The people of England are recognized as one people.

The present generation of English speaking people has derived its ideas on this subject to a great extent from the romances of Sir Walter Scott; but Mr. Freeman tells us that there is not a line in the charming novel of *Ivanhoe* which does not convey an erroneous impression with respect to the relations of the Saxons to the Normans. Notwithstanding the Conquest, the institutions of the land remained English.

The local, judicial, and administrative forms of government in the fourteenth century were practically the same as in the sixteenth century. After three centuries, the conquerors were themselves conquered. Though they had introduced a third part of the words into the language, the language continued to be English. Their descendants spoke English. English blood had gained the predominance everywhere over the Norman blood. The nation itself remained English. By the fourteenth century, the soil of England was almost entirely in the hands of men who could trace their descent to the very Anglo-Saxon proprietors who had been in possession before the coming of the Normans. It is not to be forgotten that, at the time of the Conquest, William claimed to have a legal right to the throne. Mr. Freeman tells us that it is utterly

unjust to speak of this claim of legal right and his show of a legal government as mere pretence to cover the violence of a successful brigand. It is true that his position was different from the position of a king of foreign birth who succeeds to a crown by peaceable election or peaceable hereditary succession. But Mr. Freeman says it was also very different from the position of a mere invader reigning by sheer military force. If England had been oppressed, it was to a great extent the undesigned oppression which had only arisen from the fact that their laws had been administered by foreigners. Mr. Freeman insists that the notion that every Englishman at the Conquest was turned out of hearth and home is a mere dream. The men who actually fought against William at Senlac were undoubtedly dispossessed to a great extent; but the actual occupiers of the soil remained in general undisturbed. In some cases Englishmen of high rank contrived even to win William's personal favor and kept their lands and even their offices. Thousands of proprietors redeemed their land by a payment of money to the new king and went back to their homes rejoicing. As Mr. Freeman expresses it, "They had been in the lion's mouth and had come forth unhurt." Those who received their estates back received them of course according to the prevalent feudal ideas, as a fresh gift from the over-lord; and different proprietors doubtless received them back on different terms according to the merits or demerits of each particular grantee. Some received them as a free gift. Some bought them back. Some acquired the whole of their former lands; others a part. Some even received a fresh gift beyond what they originally possessed. In some cases, a widow or an heiress saved a great estate by consenting to give herself and her lands in marriage to one of the friends of the conqueror. So at the end of the fourteenth century, when there had come about the thorough amalgamation of the Normans with the great body of the English people, there were few landed proprietors, even among those who bore Norman names, who could not trace back their pedigree, at least on one side, to the original Anglo-Saxon proprietors of the soil.

Now these men possessed the independent spirit of free-

men, and they displayed the virtues which usually accompany freedom. They were brave, outspoken, truthful. They were capable of strong and lasting friendships. They were ever ready to make sacrifices for any object that seemed to demand it. They had an ever present feeling of obligation to what they considered their duty, and a disposition to be loyal to their chief. And this spirit was not confined to them. It was shared to a great extent by the people at large. The English people were a free people. Neither in theory nor in practice did their kings possess absolute power. The prerogatives of the king were great, but he could not legislate; he could not impose the lightest tax without the consent of Parliament. He was bound to administer the government according to the laws of the land, and immemorial custom. The line which bounded the royal prerogative was not drawn with any great distinctness, but even William the Conqueror, as has just been said, took pains to have it understood that he would conform to English law. King John, that "knight without truth," as he has been called, that "king without justice, that Christian without faith," attempted to disregard the laws, and all classes rose up against him, and he thought himself fortunate in appeasing their anger by signing at Runnymede the Great Charter. I need hardly remind you that this was not a new or a different code of laws, but merely a formal recognition of the great and fundamental principles on which the government had rested from time immemorial. It was a written ratification of the traditions and customs of the land, and of all the liberties which had been conferred by his predecessors. After that, the most self-willed of English kings were very careful to pay the utmost respect to the laws, though they often sought to accomplish their designs by some kind of evasion. Mr. Macaulay says, that so long as the general spirit of the administration was mild and popular, the people allowed much latitude to the sovereign; but to this indulgence there was a limit. It would not do for a king to presume too far on the forbearance of the people. If for ends generally allowed to be good he overstepped the constitutional line, they forgave him; but they claimed the privilege of overstepping this line themselves. If he did it contrary to their ideas of what was

for the general good, they appealed to the laws, and that appeal failing, they appealed to the god of battles. They kept this check of physical force always ready, and brought the proudest and fiercest king to terms. Resistance was the ordinary method in political disturbances.

This bold and free spirit that was so generally diffused among all classes of the English people was owing, in great measure, to the fact that there had never been any exclusive spirit of caste which had separated the nobles from the rest of the nation. In the States on the Continent, the descendants of a person of noble rank were themselves noble, and an almost insuperable barrier separated them forever from the people, and the people from them. In those States there were only two classes, nobles and peasants. But in England, the nobility were constantly receiving fresh members from the people and constantly sending down members to mingle with the people. Knighthood might be reached by any one who could amass an estate and showed valor on the field of battle. The daughter of even a royal duke might marry a commoner. Any gentleman might become a peer. The younger son of a peer was but a gentleman. The grandson of a peer yielded precedence to a newly made knight. Good blood was held in high respect, but between good blood and the peerage, nothing barred the way but merit. Mr. Macaulay tells us that even in that age there were pedigrees and scutcheons out of the house of lords as old as the oldest within. There were new men who bore the highest titles. There were untitled men who were descended from men who bore the highest titles. There were Mowbrays, Veres, Bohuns, and even kinsmen of Plantagenets, who had not one civil privilege beyond those of any shop-keeper or any farmer in the land.

This fact that there had never been any impassable line between patricians and plebeians is so important in its bearing on the English character, that perhaps it will not be out of place to give some illustrations drawn from the condition of things in different classes of English society. It will not be necessary to enter into any detailed account of the more minute subdivisions of these classes at the period of the Plan-

tagenet princes. It will be enough for my purpose to take only the broadest division,—that alluded to by Mr. Hallam. He reminds his readers that there survives at the present day among all English speaking children a string of words which are generally supposed to be meaningless, but which have really come down from a very remote period, as a “distributive enumeration” of what were then the different classes of English society. The words are “gentleman, apothecary, ploughman, thief.” Under the title “gentleman” were included the greater and lesser nobility, and the lords of the manor, who may be considered as petty kings distributed all over England, holding subjects under them of different ranks. Under the title of “ploughman” were included two classes. There was the yeoman, who lived on his own acres and cultivated his own land, which he either owned absolutely, or for which he paid yearly to the lord of the manor a small nominal sum of money, not as rent, but simply as an acknowledgment of his lordship. There was also a class lower in the social scale, who paid rent and were obliged to perform certain menial duties. These last were the villeins, who were bound to the soil, and were unable to leave it or change their condition without the license of the lord of the manor. “Apothecary” was a term which was applied to the burgesses of the towns. The “thief” was a villein who owed allegiance to the lord of the manor, but had either become a vagabond or had fled to the “greenwood” and was living the life of an outlaw.

Now for illustration of this fact, that among all these different classes of society there was no impassable barrier between patrician and plebeian, I take down the biography of the first person whose name occurs to me at random, among those remarkable men who made the glory of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. I read as follows: “In a poor farm-house among the pleasant valleys of South Devon, among the white apple orchards and the rich water meadows, and the red fallows and the red kine, in the year of grace 1552, a boy was born as beautiful as day, and christened Walter Raleigh. His father was a gentleman of ancient blood; none older in the land; but impoverished, he had settled down upon the wreck of his

estate in that poor farm-house. His mother was a Champer-noun, proudest of Norman squires, and could probably boast of having in her veins the blood of Courtneys, Emperors of Constantinople."

I turn next to the account which Bishop Latimer himself gave of his own childhood. He says, "My father was a yeoman and had no lands of his own. He hired a farm of three or four pounds by the year, and hereupon he tilled so much as kept half a dozen men. He had walk for one hundred sheep, and my mother milked thirty kine. He was able, and did find the king a harness with himself and his horse. I can remember that I buckled his harness when he went to Blackheath Field. He kept me in school. He married my sisters with five pounds apiece, so that he brought them up in godliness and fear of God. He kept hospitality for his poor neighbor, and some alms he gave to the poor."

Perhaps I have made the mistake of drawing these illustrations from the period of the Tudor princes. The condition of English society at that time, in other respects, was very different, as I will soon attempt to show. But my object has been only to call attention to the fact that in every age of English history, there has been this thorough amalgamation going on between patrician and plebeian, in both the ascending and descending scale so that in the poor farm-houses might be found the descendants of the highest nobles; and side by side those who were themselves of plebeian descent who were rising to the highest positions in England. I will therefore take one more illustration from the lowest class of society, that of the villeins in the time of the Plantagenets. Dr. Jessop tells us of a certain Ralph Red, who in the thirteenth century was a villein on the lands of the lord of the manor in one of the villages of Norfolk. He had a son Ralph, who having been admitted to the priesthood, became in consequence enfranchised. After a time this son, having acquired the means, purchased the freedom of his father and his father's family. A hundred years afterwards, a descendant of this same Ralph Red became himself lord of the very manor on which his ancestor Ralph Red had been a villein. And the daughter of this lord of the manor married a learned

judge of the time, Sir William Yelverton, a knight of the Bath. From them are descended Lord Avonmore and the Yelvertons, who are now Earls of Sussex.

Now this absence, from the first period of English history, of any insuperable barrier between patricians and plebeians, and the possibility of the intermingling of whatever there was of good blood in the land with that of every other class, had wrought important results on the character of the whole English people. It is an illustration on a large scale of the effect of natural laws, now recognized by the science of heredity. Blood tells among men as truly as among animals. The whole body of English people had felt the effects down to the very villeins. Many of those qualities which were elsewhere deemed to be the characteristics of patricians alone, were in England to be found among plebeians—individuality, personal dignity, independence, a sense of honor, an interest in the State of which every one felt himself a part, aspiration, self-confidence—all the qualities which are to-day recognized as the national characteristics of Englishmen.

In the States of Europe, the nobles were a caste. They were kept by themselves. All outside of this caste were peasants. There was nothing to elevate them or give them hope. The histories of the time describe them as degraded almost to the level of the swine and oxen which they tended. No matter how enterprising or thrifty they were, they could not rise. Their condition in the Middle Ages may be judged from the condition of the serfs in Russia to-day, whom an English poet has lately thus described :—

The serf is in his hut ; the unsacred sire
Who can beget no honor ! Lo, his mate
Dim through the reeking garlick, she whose womb
Doth shape his ignorant shame, and whose young slave
In some far field thickens a knouted hide
For baser generations. Their dull eyes
Are choked with feudal warfare ; their rank limbs
Steam in the sty of plenty. Their rude tongues
That fill the belly from the common trough,
Discharge in gobbets of as gross a speech,
That other maw, the heart. Nor doth the boor
Refuse his owner's chattel, though she breed
The rich man's increase ; nor doth she disdain

The joyless usage of such limbs as toil,
 Yoked with the nobler ox, and take as mute
 A beast's infliction. At her stolid side
 The girl that shall be such a thing as she
 Suckles the babe she would not, with the milk
 A bond maid owes her master.

Now there was no such class of people in England whose lot was so hopeless. Even the villeins caught something of the prevailing feeling of independence. The bold outlaws of the "greenwood," so famous in English story, were largely recruited from this class, and the knowledge that their children might rise to a higher condition was always a source of hope and courage. Besides, they shared in that general spirit of independence which had been so generally diffused among the whole people. English historians of the Middle Ages have recognized fully the importance of the existence in England of what they call the great middle class, so unlike and so superior to any body of men to be found elsewhere in Europe in that age. But the existence of this middle class is something to be itself explained. Why was there this middle class? Was it not the result of the intermingling of the best blood of England with that of all classes? So it was that whenever in those ages English soldiers contended with the soldiers of the continent, the effects of these characteristics were so often to be seen. It was this that gave the victory to the English at Crecy, at Poitiers, at Agincourt. The spirit of the English yeoman was something different from that of the European serf. There was a feeling of honor, of independence, and above all, as a race characteristic, the feeling of individual responsibility, of individual obligation, to stand firm. There was no panic, for each man depended on himself and did not wait for support from some one else. It was just this same quality that kept the English squares firm at Waterloo. Mr. Kinglake, describing the battle of the Alma, in the Crimean War, says that the Russian officers had been till then accustomed to think that the formation of troops for battle must be in crowded masses. Such was the formation on which the French and the Turks depended. It was therefore with amazement that the Russians saw the "men in red" coming

on "in a slender line, only two deep, yet extending far from east to west." He says they could not believe that "with so fine a thread," as he expresses it, the English general was really intending to confront their massive columns. None but men who have nerve and pluck can stand without flinching in such a line, and such nerve and pluck are the result of race characteristics.

These race characteristics are so important for the purpose which I have in view, that I cannot forbear another illustration of it, as manifested by one of the latest descendants of the principal leader of that very company of English Christians who founded this town. I remind you of a young officer of artillery, one of the most brilliant of those brilliant young men from this town, who laid down their lives on the field of battle in the Civil War, and one still remembered with loving affection by many here present, who confidently expected for him, after having been trained under these elms in every academic and every manly accomplishment, a long career of usefulness. In one of the fiercest of the battles of the Wilderness, he received an order to take and hold a dangerous position with his battery. He asked "Am I to have any support?" He was told that no support could be given him. "Then," was his reply, as he went to what proved the gates of death, "I will support myself." That was the spirit which has ever characterized the Anglo-Saxon people; a spirit which can only be built up by years of freedom. "I will support myself!" "We run after nobody!" That is the spirit which characterizes all branches of the Teutonic family on this side of the Atlantic, as well as the other.

I have now called attention to two of the strongest race characteristics of the English people, and it is evident that they had not been weakened during the time of the Plantagenets. I come now to the Tudors. They were inclined to be despotic; but even under the Tudors, the spirit of the English people remained the same; and their confidence that they were entitled to all the rights granted by Magna Charta and immemorial custom suffered no diminution. The Tudors were so situated that they did not dare to go beyond a certain point.

They never carried arbitrary rule too far. They showed discretion. They always stood in a kind of awe of their subjects. This was in great measure due to the fact that England was an island. As it was protected from invasion by the sea, it was unnecessary for the king to have a regular army. On the continent where the boundary line between different States might be only an imaginary line, or a river that could easily be forded, there was a necessity of being always prepared for an attack, so the army designed for the country's protection could be at any time used to quell any opposition on the part of the citizens. The Tudors had no army. So they did not dare to trespass on the rights of the people; for they had no adequate force at hand to intimidate those who should resist. Even Henry VIII. did little to lessen permanently the bold and self-reliant spirit which had grown so strong. It is true that the reign of Henry VIII. was one of terror. The heads of all who displeased him rolled from the block. But strangely his policy was of a kind that did not bring any permanent injury to the liberties of the country. The policy which he adopted had been suggested by Thomas Cromwell, a man whose character is one of the inscrutable mysteries of history. Little is known of his early life, except that he had been in Italy, and it is quite evident that he had profited by the writings of Machiavelli. He conceived a definite aim of carrying on the government in such a way as to put all power into the hands of Henry and make him absolute. But instead of openly appearing as the foe of the national liberties, he used Parliament as his tool, and made the old forms of constitutional freedom serve as the instruments of his tyranny. The whole nation was panic stricken; but they did not realize that all was part of a plan to enslave them. Every new step was taken, every new measure was carried through with such adroitness, that the people thought it was the work of their own Parliament. They never lost faith in themselves.

Yet all were not thus blind. Under the very eye of the king, Sir Thomas More, one of the most conspicuous friends of the "new learning," dared to publish his "Utopia," in which he declaimed against the prevalent tyranny. He described an ideal country where flourished public security,

religious tolerance, equality, brotherhood, freedom. He went further. He advocated the principle that a sovereign should be removed on the mere suspicion of a design to enslave the people. He hints that there was at that very time an attempt to do this in England; that the law courts were lending themselves to the assistance of those who were bent on destroying English freedom. He says that the maxim was beginning to be avowed that the king can do no wrong; that there were those who claimed that not only the property but the persons of all subjects in the realm are the king's, and that a subject has a right to no more than the king's goodness thinks fit not to take.

Queen Elizabeth tried to carry on her government according to the policy of her father, by managing Parliament, and packing it with the nominees of the Crown. But with the spread of new religious views, and with the increasing intelligence of the people, this became every year more and more difficult. The nation was learning to rely on itself. A new generation of Englishmen had grown up, who felt that they ought to have a share in the control of their own affairs. Cromwell, in carrying out his policy in the reign of her father, had found it to be so great an advantage to have it appear that Parliament had authorized every arbitrary measure, that he had taken pains to obtain its sanction for measures which had before been considered as belonging specially to the king's prerogative; such as questions about trade, questions respecting religion, even matters of state, which never before had been submitted to Parliament. Elizabeth's own title to the Crown rested on a Parliamentary statute. In conformity with what had become a precedent, Parliament continued after the death of Henry VIII. to take action respecting such matters. They even, when they saw fit, dared to dictate to the Queen what her policy should be. Elizabeth was indignant. Mr. Green tells us that on one occasion she complained to the Spanish ambassador—"They have acted like rebels. They have dealt with me as they would not have dealt with my father. I cannot tell what these devils want!" The ambassador replied: "They want liberty, madam, and if princes do not look to themselves, and work together to put such people

down, they will find before long what all this is coming to." But Elizabeth was forced to submit, and she even solemnly declared to the Commons that "She did not mean to prejudice any part of the liberties heretofore granted them."

The reign of Queen Elizabeth marks the commencement of a new era in English history. During all her long life, the aspect of things was changing. England was slowly beginning to take a place among the European States as an important power. As we now look back to the period before her time, it is difficult for us to realize that the England of the sixteenth century was not what England has been since. So many people are deceived by the exaggerated estimate which Henry VIII. put on his own importance, and have been led to suppose that he was really something like the equal of Charles V. and Francis I. in power and influence. But it should not be forgotten that the chief importance of England at that time arose from the fact that the political strength of those two great monarchs was so nearly balanced that it was for their interest to court the king of even a third-rate nation as a make-weight. England was then the make-weight in European politics.

The real position of Henry VIII. may be illustrated by a conversation reported in a letter to Francis I. by the French ambassador in London, which appears in the last volume of the English state papers just published. Henry VIII. was talking with him in his usual braggadocio style, declaiming about what he intended to do, and what he should require of the king, when the ambassador, after having respectfully heard him through, quietly responded, "Your Majesty, that means war"—and the blustering king was brought to the realization of his own real weakness, and at once changed his tone.

The early years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth were one long struggle for national existence. England was saved from destruction only by the jealousies of her powerful neighbors. Even at home, her own people were ever ready to fly at each other's throats, and she did not dare to take sides with either party. Her real genius displayed itself in her make-shift policy. To keep everything as quiet as possible was what she aimed at, and to accomplish this she did not hesitate to tell the

most unblushing falsehoods even to her ministers of state. Elizabeth did not like the Puritans, but during all her reign she was obliged to trust them, and even to court them. The intelligent, the educated, the active men of the country were to a great extent of that party. But even if they had not been, she did not dare to rely upon their opponents. Whether she liked it or not, she even had to fill the Episcopal Sees, when they became vacant, with the men who had been exiled during the Marian persecutions, and had learned their theology from the Calvinistic reformers on the continent. For political reasons she was obliged also to help with her armies the Huguenots in France, and the Hollanders in the Low Countries, and the men who served in those campaigns came back with the love of liberty and religion intensified. They had witnessed the atrocities for which Philip II. was responsible; they had admired the heroic efforts of the Netherlanders to shake off the Spanish yoke; they had seen the sacrifices that the countrymen of William the Silent were willing to make to achieve their political and religious independence; they had learned to disregard the fulminations of the once dreaded pope; they had faced the best soldiers of Spain and Italy on many a hard-fought field and had seen them, time and again, skip like lambs before their victorious arms. Mr. Markham, in his *Life of Sir Francis and Sir Horace Vere*, says that at the close of the reign of Elizabeth, "there was scarcely a man in England who had not either himself served in the Low Countries, or had not a relative or neighbor who had." On the return of these men to England, they spread in every direction the new ideas respecting religion and liberty which they had learned.

Those campaigns in the Netherlands are of special interest to us as Americans. It is true that all the history of England which we have been reviewing is of interest as a part of our own history. When we go back to those centuries, we are on our own ground. Through all those centuries, our ancestors stood shoulder to shoulder with the ancestors of the men who to-day call themselves Englishmen. All of this history is as full of personal interest to us as it is to any of them. It is not one whit more theirs than it is ours. But we have reached now a period when we can single out individuals and trace the in-

fluences which prepared them for their work in this country. Those campaigns in the Netherlands not only educated the men who were to figure in the coming Revolution in England, but also the men to whom our New England ancestors looked for leadership in their military enterprises. I turn in the Biographical Dictionary to the name of our earliest Connecticut soldier, the hero of the Pequot war, and read: "JOHN MASON, trained to arms in the Netherlands, under Sir Thomas Fairfax." I read also: "MILES STANDISH, trained under Sir Horace Vere, and served in the army of the Netherlands;" and so LION GARDINER, and WINSLOW, and others. The soldiers who went to the Netherlands were either Puritans or men who were sure to become Puritans after their first campaign.

The closing years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth were crowned with success. She had triumphed over all her enemies at home and abroad. The Spaniard was no longer feared. England had become an important power among the nations of Europe. Wealth and intelligence had multiplied among the people. Mr. Green tells us that one London merchant, Thomas Sutton, at his own expense founded the great hospital and school of the Charter House; another, Hugh Myddleton, brought the New River from its springs at Chadwell and Amwell to supply London with pure water. A new architecture, too, began to testify that even the tastes of the people were improving, and their ideas of comfort. The vast and beautiful cathedrals in England and on the continent that travelers so much admire, the picturesque medieval castles, which had existed for centuries before the reign of Elizabeth, had been no index of what was the social life of the people. The cathedrals had been built when art was religion. The church in those days was what a hundred other buildings combine to make up at the present time. The church was the town hall, the concert room, the theatre, the school, the newsroom, the vestry, all in one. The reason that those vast cathedrals had been built was that, at a time when most people lived in hovels, the church afforded a place of meeting for the whole neighboring population. Each cathedral was the poor man's palace as well as that of the prince, the poor man's castle as well as that of the noble, where no enemy could reach him to do him

harm. The castles of the nobles were only fortresses, and the dwelling rooms in them were utterly cheerless. But now, as the result of the growing wealth, buildings of a different character began to be erected, and that Elizabethan architecture arose which many persons suppose to have been only one of various styles which then everywhere met the eye. Instead of this, the Elizabethan houses were only the first attempt at anything ornate or convenient.

Now this was the period in which the men who settled New Haven were born. These were the influences which surrounded their childhood. I have only attempted to give the broadest outline of some of the more important forces which had made the nation what it then was. I offer no apology for not attempting anything in the way of detail. The time at my command does not admit of it. The details have been rehearsed in your hearing a hundred times. I have thought that some such comprehensive sketch as I have attempted might present something more of novelty. I have wished only to call your attention to the fact that as far back in history as we can go—nearly two thousand years—it had been the race characteristic of the English people to be predisposed to be religious, and to cherish the love of freedom. It had been even a passion with them to take care of their own affairs. They had ever been a practical, a sensible, a level-headed people. These race characteristics had survived all the attempts of the Tudor kings to curb and destroy them, so that at the death of Queen Elizabeth they were actually stronger than ever before. The influences which had followed in the train of the “new learning,” and above all the publication of the Bible, had educated a class of men who were determined to think for themselves, and who were pervaded with an intense feeling of individual responsibility to God for all that they did. Speaking of these men, Mr. Taine says, that “disdaining all the equivocations of worldly morality, they had enthroned conscientious labor in the workshop, probity in the counting house, truth in the tribunal, purity in the domestic hearth. They were attentive to the least requirements of duty. With fixed determination and with inexhaustible patience, courage,

sacrifice, they were ready to bear all, and do all, rather than fail in the least injunction of moral justice and Bible law."

From this moment, the future of the English people was assured, not in vain had been the sobriety and seriousness which had marked the race from the first;—not in vain that disposition to inquire about the "obscure beyond" that readiness to respond loyally to every appeal to duty;—not in vain that remarkable aptitude for self-government. The soil had been long preparing for the seed, and now that it had been sowed, there could be no question what would be the harvest.

The Bible was hailed as giving an explanation of all the dark enigmas that had perplexed so many generations. Men no longer rested satisfied with a mere outward connection with the church. They no longer resigned all the great issues of life and death to a priesthood. Each man realized that he sustained a personal relation to God, as truly as if he were alone in the universe with his Creator. He saw now what was the meaning of life. The here and the hereafter were parts of the same existence. He was placed in this world to develop his own individual character and fit himself for the service of God hereafter. The Bible prescribed the rule of conduct which he was to follow. The kingdom of God had been set up on earth and he was to be, in every relation of life, loyal to its interests, and thus prepare himself for the service of God in heaven. This was Puritanism; and to-day, among English speaking people, this is everywhere accepted as essential to a true religious life, among those who are not distinctively Puritan, as truly as among those who acknowledge their Puritan descent. Even in the Roman Catholic church, it is now everywhere proclaimed in all Protestant countries, that the mere formal connection with that particular church, and external conformity to its prescribed ritual, is useless.

Now it was when such a state of things had come to exist in England, that a king succeeded to the throne, in accordance with the theory of dynastic rule, who was of a different race. It is true that his grandfather's grandfather had been an English king, and so it may be said that one-sixteenth part of him was of English extraction; but he had nothing in

common with the people over whom he came to rule. He did not understand them, and he remained through life a stranger to all their thoughts and traditions. He belonged to a family which for a hundred years had been engaged in a fierce struggle to maintain their position against warring factions of nobles. He himself had suffered humiliations which had embittered all his feelings, and made him the suspicious and determined enemy of all that might in any way oppose his will. He came to England with the settled determination to stem the current of national feeling which had been for so many centuries steadily setting towards a more enlarged freedom. I do not propose to characterize James I. Every new historian who writes about him has sought to tax all the resources of the English language to express contempt of his ridiculous self-conceit, his unbounded pride, his want of tact, his pedantry, and his hundred weaknesses. Believing that he had a divine right to rule, he soon avowed that there were no limits to the royal prerogative. At a time when religion was a subject in which every one felt a most absorbing interest, and when intelligence was so widely diffused that the people understood what were the interests of the nation, and felt that they had a right through their representatives in Parliament to have a share in the conduct of affairs, James attempted to exercise a more exclusive control over all that pertained to church and state, than any king who had gone before him. He openly expressed contempt for the public policy of Queen Elizabeth, and the nation heard with amazement that he was making peace proposals to the Spaniards, that he was negotiating with the pope, and that he was denouncing the Hollanders as rebels. As his lofty ideas of absolute power began to be developed more fully, he ran counter to the prejudices of all classes in the realm. The Roman Catholics were so enraged that they formed the gunpowder plot. The Puritans were insulted and browbeaten. He threatened that they should be "harried out of the land." The nobles were exasperated by the sale of new peerages and even high offices of state. Parliaments were prorogued. The judges were reduced to be the servants of his will; the course of justice was tampered with; new offences were created by proclama-

tion ; new penalties, without the act of Parliament ; offenders were brought before courts that had no legal jurisdiction. Yet when did an unscrupulous king ever find lack of courtiers to give him help and encouragement ? Soon they proclaimed the principle that was afterwards reduced to a system by Sir Robert Filmer, that "the subject has no positive rights in behalf of which he may decline illegal requisitions." That he is "bound to obey the king's command against law, nay, in some cases, against divine laws." Preachers were rewarded, and advanced in position, for teaching that "the king might take the subject's money at his pleasure, and no one might refuse his demand on penalty of damnation." The university of Oxford pronounced a solemn decree that it is "in no case lawful for subjects to make use of force against their princes," and all persons promoted to degrees were compelled to subscribe this article. A little later this same university anathematized as "false, seditious, and impious," the doctrine that civil authority is derived from the people. It was declared that there could be no release from this thralldom. The subject could not divest himself of the allegiance which he owed to the Lord's anointed. As long as he had life, he was amenable, wherever he might go, to the despotic power of the Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission.

Contemporaneous with the innovations, almost countless in number, which were going on in the government of the church and the state, public attention was called to a series of scandals connected with the raising of the so-called "Favorites" to the highest offices of the government, which even now cannot be read without amazement and disgust. There was the divorce of Essex, and the marriage of his worthless wife, Catherine Howard, to the equally worthless Scotch page, Carr, who was elevated to the peerage as Viscount Rochester. There was the murder of Sir John Overbury ; and, with the fall of Somerset, the raising of the shallow and unprincipled Villiers to the head of affairs, as Duke of Buckingham. The Court was thoroughly corrupt, and it became publicly known that great nobles had been playing the part of panders ; that high officers of state had been in league with cheats, and astrologers, and poisoners. The corruption which was so conspicuous in

the Court was spreading also among all classes of the people. The young men of wealth who were sent to travel on the continent that they might learn what was called the "Italian polish," came back in too many instances mere fops and profligates, caring for nothing in heaven or earth save personal enjoyment. Italy was then the center from whence spread to all nations who had any connection with her, every form of crime and wickedness. Sins were practiced there worthy of the doom of the Cities of the Plain. But in Italy vice was veiled, and some show of decency was preserved. Vice was deprived of its grossness and made attractive. But when the vices of the polished races around the Mediterranean were copied by the coarser people of England, there was an exhibition of low sensuality which was absolutely disgusting and almost beyond belief. Even the few details, which the historians of the period give as illustrations of what they assure their readers are the least objectionable examples of it, are simply sickening. The whole reign of James was a reign of shame. There was nothing to redeem it. His foreign policy was no better than his home policy. It was so weak and vacillating that the nation was humiliated and exasperated; and England, which, at the death of Queen Elizabeth, had rank among the great powers of Europe, was disgraced, and was regarded as a mere satellite of Spain.

This exhibition of the state of things in England during the reign of James I.—inadequate as the limits of this Address have necessitated it to be—will serve at least to show what were some of the influences which moulded the characters of the founders of New Haven and of New England during their early manhood. Those men were probably for the most part the children of the original proprietors of the soil in England, whose pedigree went back of the Norman intruders. They belonged to the great party which was still true to the Anglo-Saxon traditions of liberty, and which felt it to be a sacred duty to uphold the national honor, at home and abroad. With all sincerity, and with all the seriousness and practical spirit of their race, they had accepted the Bible as a revelation of God, given by Him to regulate their daily life. They were

thoroughly in earnest—if ever men were in this world—in their endeavor to conform to what they thought to be the veritable commandments of God. The innovations which were being made in the government of the State as well as that of the Church caused dismay among them. The increasing corruption of morals which had become absolutely disgusting, and of which most persons at the present day have not the slightest conception, affected them with the deepest alarm. Vice was flaunting itself openly. Virtue, purity, religion were boldly ridiculed. Some new public or private scandal was almost every day exposed. The Puritans strove valiantly in the contest which was then going on. It was a many-sided contest, waged against absolutism and against vice. There was a display of heroism on their part that is now fully recognized by all the great historians of the period. Carlyle, Goldwin Smith, Charles Kingsley, Green, and so many others, have exposed the foolish and malicious libels with which those who have been in sympathy with the court party have striven in every succeeding age to make the Puritans seem hateful, and the most eloquent pages of these writers have been those in which they have sought to do honor to the magnanimity and the true manliness of the Puritan character. But, at the time, all that could be done by the Puritans to preserve the liberties of England seemed unavailing. Their leaders in parliament and in the church were fined and imprisoned, and forced to flee for their lives to the continent. Hope itself was almost dead.

It may assist us in the attempt to understand the condition of things in England at that time if we recall what was the state of feeling in the Northern States during the years preceding our civil war. Public sentiment here was almost unanimous as to the evils of slavery; but the slave power was so intrenched in the constitution of the United States that all effort to put limits to its increase seemed futile. It was always and everywhere aggressive. The Missouri Compromise had been followed by nullification in South Carolina, by the annexation of Texas, by war with Mexico, by the fugitive slave law, by the Nebraska bill, by the outrages in Kansas, by the Dred Scott decision, by legislation in favor of slavery. The claim was made at last that slave ownership should be pro-

tected throughout the whole national domain. Our whole political life was affected by it. Too many of our ablest statesmen were so overawed by the slave interest that they feared to offer any resistance. Those who endeavored to stand up against it were ridiculed. Even the conscience of the nation seemed to be growing indifferent. The friends of liberty looked around with doubt and dismay. But it was vastly worse in England at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

After James came Charles I. and the ascendancy of Buckingham, the arrest and imprisonment and death of Sir John Eliot, the dissolution of parliament, the announcement of the king that he would rule without a parliament, the forbidding any one to even speak of a parliament ever being held again, the despotism of the Privy Council, the Star Chamber, and the Court of High Commission, government by proclamation, forced loans, monopolies, feudal and forest extortions, ship money, the tenure of the judges made to depend on the king's pleasure, the Protestant cause on the continent openly abandoned, Tilly and Wallenstein carrying all before them in Germany.

What wonder that many of the Puritans began to question whether it was not better to leave England and find a new home beyond the ocean. At last a little band of colonists established themselves at Plymouth. Another and much more important colony was begun at Boston, and then a company of London merchants, with the Rev. John Davenport as their leader, conceived the idea of a new colony, of which this city to-day is the outgrowth.

It does not fall within the scope of this Address to give any account of the New Haven colony, or of the remarkable man who was its leader; yet I ask your indulgence—which I fear has already been too heavily taxed—while, very briefly, I remind you that John Davenport had conceived a plan of government far in advance of anything that had been attempted before; and in his attempts to carry out his conception, and protect the colony from all hostile interference from the government of the country which they had abandoned, he showed qualities of statesmanship for which he is to be ranked among

the ablest men of his day. It has been claimed that the constitution which was framed in the cabin of the *Mayflower* marked a new epoch; but the men of Plymouth were not entirely disentangled from the old traditions. They acknowledged themselves to be still under English rule. They did not even desire to shake it off. They subscribed themselves "the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign King James;" and what they did they declared was done for the "honor of our King and country." The colonists who settled Massachusetts not only made no progress in theory upon the colony of Plymouth, but they did not go as far. They went out from England under English charters. Their claim to the rights which they asserted was founded, in their estimation, on the fact that they were free-born Englishmen. And it is questionable whether in England to this day civil rights are supposed to rest on anything more venerable or more sacred than the provisions of *Magna Charta* and the Common Law. The colonists, also, who settled the river towns on the Connecticut did not forget that they, too, were Englishmen. For months they supposed that they were within the patent of the old Massachusetts colony, and acted accordingly. Not so John Davenport and Governor Eaton. They formed their colony in London for the express purpose of carrying out new and peculiar views respecting human rights and civil government. They claimed that there were rights which were theirs, not because they were Englishmen, but because they were *men*. They fell back on the natural and inherent rights which belonged to them by virtue of their manhood. They had shaped their views into a well-digested plan. They were of the opinion that if they went beyond the limits of any existing English government, they were free to expatriate themselves. And when they reached Boston, on their way to a new home, though they were invited and urged to remain there, they refused, and would not be drawn aside from their purpose by the great inducements which were offered. It was their plan to establish a State by mutual agreement, on Christian principles, beyond the reach of English authority, and without any reference of any kind whatever, express or implied, to the government of the king or

to any of the institutions of their native land. Here was the first example of such a government on the American continent.

While speaking so briefly of this remarkable plan of theirs, so well considered, so much more far reaching than anything conceived of by either of the other colonies, I do not know that it will consist with the seriousness and dignity of the subject, or of the present occasion, to allude to the fact that it has been reserved for the present generation to advance a theory that the colonists who founded New Haven did not come here with any such high purpose, but came here only to trade. It is true that as sensible and practical men, knowing that a colony which is to be prosperous and enduring must have some means of support, and having been engaged in commerce at home, they naturally intended to go on with the occupation for which their previous pursuits had fitted them. What else could they do? They were not tillers of the soil. It could hardly be expected that such men would be satisfied to go so far without some plan for supporting themselves. There is no question that they planned to trade and build up here a commercial city. It would have been strange if they had not thought of some way to provide for their families and themselves. But if it is meant that those London merchants came here *principally* for purposes of gain, no statement could be more preposterous. I hardly need to repeat that it was a time when the Anglo-Saxon love of freedom which had been growing stronger and deeper for two thousand years, had at last clashed with absolutism. The struggle which had begun was one to the death. All England was at a white heat on the subject of religion and free government. John Davenport was one of the marked men among the political and religious leaders of the time. During his exile in Holland, he had given much thought to the subject of "civil government," and he had elaborated original views with regard to it, which he afterwards published. To suppose that such a man as he, or Governor Eaton, came here in the early part of the reign of Charles I. to "make money," is under the circumstances even more absurd than to suppose that the honored champion of freedom,* whose voice rang out from

* Rev. Leonard Bacon, D.D.

this pulpit so boldly for fifty years against American slavery, could have left New Haven just when the excitement preceding the Civil War was greatest, and gone to some one of the Aleutian Islands to make money by engaging in the seal fishery, and had carried with him the ablest of the men who had been accustomed to gather in this church from week to week, to listen to his preaching. The men who founded New Haven came here when Cromwell himself was debating the question whether it was not the wisest thing for the cause of English liberty to cross the ocean and build up a *new* "England." Among the New Haven men were some of his own kinsmen; and when the Protector had succeeded to power, he wrote to his old friends in this town, and invited them to return. Some of them did return. Letters were also sent to John Davenport, to Thomas Hooker of Hartford, and John Cotton of Boston, the three great leaders of the time in New England, "earnestly inviting them to return to their native country for a season, in order to assist in conducting to a happy issue the great Revolution then in progress there." Do I need to say more than that this theory about John Davenport is too absurd for any serious answer?

Two hundred and fifty years have passed since that company of English Christians landed on these shores, and to-day we ask ourselves what has been the success of their enterprise. We know that after years of labor and discouragement, it seemed to them that they had failed. Their colony had been the wealthiest of all the colonies that had come to America. It seemed to have the fairest hopes of success. But disaster after disaster had befallen it. Yet as we look back to-day, we can see that they did succeed, and that their success has been greater than even their highest expectations. They hoped to build up a commercial city, and here is a city, which is, at least, half as large as what was known distinctively as the "City of London" at the time they left it. They wished to build up a State independent of English control, and the city they founded is a part of a sovereign State, which is one of the great powers of the world, with a much larger population than that of all the English islands combined. And certainly

no city in the land did more to prepare the way for American independence, or give shape to the present government of the United States. Their leading idea was that the two great bulwarks of a State should be religion and universal education. This idea of theirs has also triumphed everywhere throughout the whole nation. An integral part of their plan was that the city they founded should be the seat of a university. The importance that John Davenport attached to this part of his plan, as it has always seemed to me, was owing in great measure to what he had seen in Leyden. During his residence there, he was a witness of the estimation in which its citizens held the famous university which had been granted to them by William of Orange "with advice of the Estates," as "a reward for their sufferings, and as "a manifestation of the gratitude entertained by the people of Holland and Zeeland for their heroic defence of their city" against the Spaniards. It should not be forgotten, too, that John Davenport had the satisfaction before he died of believing that he had succeeded in this, and that he had laid the foundation of a college. Almost his last official act here was to draw up a paper in which he spoke of the college as "founded and begun." And although that institution never actually rose above the rank of a Grammar School, yet it is due to the memory of that remarkable man that his hopeful words should be remembered. He certainly was the pioneer who prepared the way for the University, whose influence has been felt throughout the world, of which his son-in-law, JAMES PIERPONT, who became his successor and the heir of his plans and hopes, was, not long after, the founder.

The estimate which I have now given of the Puritan character, I doubt not, is in the main in accordance with that of those of you who have thus far listened to me. Yet it is sometimes said, even by the admirers of the heroism of the Puritans, and of their loyalty to the cause of liberty and to the interests of religion, and who feel deeply the indebtedness to them of all the subsequent generations of English-speaking men and women, that after all they were not people whom one would like to live with! If there should be any one present who has ever entertained a feeling of this kind, I would ask him who there

is among the very best men of former ages who have really done anything for their own generation, or for mankind, who would be an agreeable inmate of his home, under the changed conditions of life in the nineteenth century.

Is it not true that the generations as they succeed each other are each moulded by the experiences through which they have had to pass? One generation can no more enter into the feelings and habits of the generations which have preceded, or conform to them, than a child can enter into the feelings of its parents and live its parents' life with any satisfaction. In addition, it is to be remembered that the men who have ever done anything of value for their generation or for the race have been forced to endure sacrifices and hardships, and in the terrible ordeal through which they have had to pass have necessarily acquired a fixedness of purpose, a sternness of manner, and an absorption of spirit, which accord ill with the ideas and habits of those whose lot has been cast in happier times. I do not think that Luther, or Augustine, or Chrysostom—I do not think that even any one of the evangelists or apostles themselves, with the habits of an oriental who lived two thousand years ago, would be found to accommodate himself to our modes of life, in such a way that we should find him to be a pleasant person to have in our houses. Or to take men of a different class, I do not think that there is any one, no matter how much he cares for rank or display, who could endure to have Charles II., or Louis XIV., or Lord Chesterfield, or Beau Brummell, or any man of fashion of any preceding age, as the constant companion of his days.

But I will not go so far back in history or to other lands. I will remind you of that one of our own countrymen to whom the heart of every American turns with greatest reverence and pride. No man of his time on this continent had greater advantages in his childhood and youth than Washington. He was carefully trained in literature, in manners, and in every manly accomplishment by a relative of his family, who had been a personal friend of Addison and a contributor to the *Spectator*, who had held a high social position in England as an English nobleman, who was in addition a Christian gentleman. At the beginning of the Revolution, when he was ap-

pointed general in chief of the American army, he was supposed to be the richest man in America, and had always lived in a style which few could imitate. But eight years of the stern experiences of war made a change in the whole bearing of the handsome young officer who only a few years before had visited New England for the first time on horseback with a company of gay young friends, and the men of his own time who revered him—some of whom perhaps would have died for him—found him so reticent, so dignified, so stern, so absorbed, that all who approached him felt under restraint.

It must be so necessarily. Those who fight the great battles of life come out scarred, and wearied, and worn. Of one of the most accomplished men of our own time, who labored for the freedom of Italy, we read that after the failure of a certain enterprise which cost the lives of some of his dearest friends, he was never seen to smile. Of how many others do we read that even after success had crowned their labors, they themselves lived ever after under the shadow of some great grief. But who of the generations who will reap the fruits of their efforts will ask if they were pleasant people to live with?

I believe that the Puritans were naturally as genial as any class of Englishmen or Americans to-day. There were sour men among them, I doubt not, as there were among the party whom they opposed. Who could be more sour than Archbishop Laud? If you have any doubts, look at his portrait! Charles Kingsley says of one of his heroes: Did his being a Puritan "prevent his being six feet high? Were his shoulders the less broad for it, his cheek the less ruddy for it? He wore his flaxen hair of the same length that every one now wears theirs, instead of letting it hang half-way to his waist in essenced curls; but was he therefore the less of a viking's son, bold hearted as his sea-roving ancestors, who won the Danelagh by Canute's side? . . . He carried a Bible in his jack-boots; but did that prevent him, as Oliver rode past him with an approving smile on Naseby field, thinking himself a very handsome fellow, with his moustache and imperial, and bright red coat, and cuirass well polished, in spite of many a dint, as he sate his father's great black horse as gracefully and firmly as any long-locked and essenced cava-

lier in front of him? No poetry in him as the long rapier swung round his head five minutes later, redder and redder at every sweep? We are befooled by names! Call him Crusader instead of Roundhead, and he seems at once (granting him only sincerity, which he had, and that of a right awful kind) as complete a knight-errant as ever watched and prayed, ere putting on his spurs, in fantastic Gothic chapel, 'beneath storied windows richly dight.' No poetry in those old Puritans? Why not? They were men of like passions with ourselves. They loved, they married, they brought up children; they feared, they sinned, they sorrowed, they fought—they *conquered*! There was poetry enough in them, be sure—though they acted it like men instead of singing it like birds."

There was a time when it might possibly have been worth while to make some reference to the attempts of the enemies of the Puritans to excite prejudice against them by representing them as gloomy ascetics. It was gravely charged against them that they would not eat mince pies or plumb puddings on Christmas day! But the reply was that they ate them on other days; and every one knows now that the reason they did not eat them publicly at Christmas was, that to do so had, in the popular mind, a political significance. Just as in this country, not very long ago, many very cheerful people avoided wearing a white hat for fear that it might be supposed that they were publicly displaying their political sympathies for the presidential aspirations of Mr. Horace Greeley. It is not very long ago too, that, in some other parts of the United States, loyal men were unwilling to wear gray trowsers or butternut coats. Does any one believe that these people had any religious objections to a white or a butternut color, or that they supposed that their Maker would be better pleased with them if they dressed themselves all over in regulation blue? Lord Macaulay once gave utterance to an ungenerous fling at the Puritans. He said that they opposed bear-baiting, not because they cared for the pain suffered by the bear, but because they begrudged the spectators the pleasure of the sport. He was answered speedily, that he had spoken more truly than he thought. The Puritans were opposed to bear-baiting

because they knew that a people who could take pleasure in witnessing the torture to which a dumb animal was exposed, were a people who could not be trusted to maintain English liberty. But it is idle to treat seriously the misrepresentations and the abuse of this kind which has been heaped upon the Puritans.

Undoubtedly the men who were fined and imprisoned, the men who were forced to leave their native land and make a new home in the wilderness, did not escape some of the marks of the hard experiences through which they were obliged to pass. They bore honorable scars received in the battle they waged. It may be worth while then to see what description of men the founders of New Haven really were. Of Theophilus Eaton, the first Puritan Governor, Dr. Bacon said, as the result of his study of the public record of his services: "I have acquired new views of the dignity which belongs to the place of the civil magistrate." Hubbard, the historian of Massachusetts, who was one of his contemporaries, says: "This man had in him great gifts, and as many excellences as are usually found in any one man. He had an excellent princely face and port, commanding respect from all others. He was a good scholar, a traveler, a great reader; of an exceeding steady and even spirit, not easily moved to passion, and standing unshaken in his principles when once fixed upon; of a profound judgment, full of majesty and authority in his judicatures, so that it was a vain thing to offer to brave him out; and yet in his ordinary conversation, and among friends, of such pleasantness of behavior and such felicity and fecundity of harmless wit as can hardly be paralleled." Mather declares of him that "for a score of years he was the glory and pillar of New Haven colony." He says of him, "He carried in his very countenance a majesty which cannot be described; and in his dispensations of justice, he was a mirror for the most imitable impartiality but ungainsayable authority of his proceedings, being awfully sensible of the obligations which the oath of a judge lays upon him. Hence he who would most patiently bear hard things offered to his person in private cases, would never pass by any public affronts or neglects, when he appeared under the character of a magistrate. But he still was the guide

of the blind, the staff of the lame, the helper of the widow and orphan, and all the distressed. None that had a good cause was afraid of coming before him." The same writer describes him also as he appeared at home: "As in his government of the commonwealth, so in the government of his family, he was prudent, serious, happy to a wonder; and albeit he sometimes had a large family, consisting of no less than thirty persons, yet he managed them with such an even temper, that observers have affirmed they never saw a house ordered with more wisdom." "He kept an honorable and hospitable table." "He countenanced the addresses unto himself of the children and servants with any of their inquiries." And we find still another witness in one who had been a servant in his family, whose beautiful testimony reminds us of what that ablest of all modern English critics, so gifted with the power of insight—Samuel Taylor Coleridge—said respecting the character of Falconbridge, in "King John," and the inferences he drew respecting his courtesy and chivalrous spirit, from the affectionate language of the reply addressed to him by his old servant, "James Gurney." Falconbridge requests him to withdraw, saying,

"James Gurney, wilt thou give us leave awhile?"

And the answer is,

"Good leave, good Philip."

To which Falconbridge replies,

"James,
There's toys abroad. Anon I'll tell thee more."

This other New Haven servant could say, many years after his master's death: "Whatever difficulty in my daily walk I now meet withal, still something that I either saw or heard in my blessed master Eaton's conversation, helped me through it all."

But it is not now a question of living with Theophilus Eaton, or with the founders of New Haven, or even with any of the Puritans, but what did those men do in their day and generation; and what did they accomplish? It is enough to say that when a dynasty which can hardly be called English, put forth claims to a right to dispose absolutely of the persons

and property of our ancestors, they set themselves in opposition, and, whether we should like to live with them or not, they saved the liberties of England, and have moulded the character of all the generations which have followed—in England as well as in America—to a far greater extent than is generally supposed.

There are crises in the history of all nations when the old race characteristics are either intensified or greatly modified. You are aware that among the theories which have been proposed by those who have advocated the doctrine of evolution, one of the most ingenious is that at certain intervals during the countless aeons of the world's early history, there has been, for some reason, a sudden and astonishing development in living organisms, "*per saltum*" as it has been called, or by a leap. The theory is that ages have passed in which the different species have remained substantially the same, till they have come at last perhaps under the influence of some new force, when a change has been made "*per saltum*," or at once, the effect of which has been perceptible ever after in their organization. Whatever may be true in the domain of natural science, it is certainly true in human life, and in the history of nations. I need go no further than to our Civil War for an illustration, though it is on a comparatively very limited scale. The terrible experiences of those four years produced an effect on the spirit of the whole American people which will be felt in their political action for centuries. The same thing is true, on a still smaller scale, in the life of every individual man. This is too obvious to need illustration.

Now the Puritan age was one of those crises in the history of the English people, when, as the historians tell us, a definite change was made in the English character. But the Puritans who came to this country, in addition to all the experiences through which they passed in England, endured such hardships here, made such sacrifices, and struggled with such new conditions of life, that among the people of this branch of the Anglo-Saxon family many very marked modifications were brought about in our characteristics as a people. There are more of these than I have time to speak of on the present

occasion. I shall be obliged to pass by several that I consider of even more importance than those I mention. I will confine myself to a very few.

It seems to me that that age was so peculiarly an age of unselfish work for the good of others, and particularly for the good of the succeeding ages, that its effects are to be seen in every descendant of the Puritans, whether he maintains the Puritan faith or not. I am not speaking of the underlying race characteristic of loyalty to duty. No Anglo-Saxon is without that feeling. When Nelson hung out his signal at Trafalgar: "England expects every man to do his duty," he knew that the heart of every cabin boy in the fleet would respond and that he would be roused to do his best. No Anglo-Saxon, however far he may have wandered from the right, but will at least try to convince himself that he is still loyal to duty, in order that he may maintain his own self-respect. I do not refer therefore to this characteristic, or even to that other characteristic of working for the mere sake of satisfying the desire to be employed about something.

Some years ago I accompanied a gentleman who belonged to one of the Latin races, to the library of the Yale Theological School. On entering, my companion went at once and stood before a painting that hangs on the walls which represents two children, descendants, I may be excused for saying, of one of the original founders of this town. After looking at the picture for some time, he said: "By no possibility could any one suppose that those children were of any Latin race." I asked him his reason. After a moment's reflection, he said: "the Latins are always looking within themselves and thinking how they appear to other people. The Anglo-Saxons, forgetful of themselves, look out on the world to see what they can do in it." That this is measurably true has just been recognized in an interesting way by Father Hecker, one of the most accomplished of the Paulist Fathers in New York. In a book, published within the present year, he undertakes to give a philosophical explanation of the fact that the Protestant nations have exerted more influence in the world than the Roman Catholic nations. I quote from his book with no idea

of controversy, but in the same liberal spirit in which he writes. The question is simply one of fact. Father Hecker declares that the race characteristic of the Latins is a disposition to submit to authority, and he says the Roman Catholic church has made the mistake of devoting its effort to strengthening this race characteristic which was already sufficiently strong, and has tried to resist rather than develop among the Latins independent action. It has sought to encourage the passive virtues, rather than the active. On the other hand, he says, the race characteristic of the Teutonic nations is personal independence, and an eagerness for action, and Protestantism has developed still further this race characteristic, already so strong, and has directed it especially against the authority of the church. Here, he says, is the explanation of the fact that "fifty millions of Protestants" have so long exerted and still exert a more controlling influence over the movements and destinies of nations than "two hundred millions of Catholics."

Now this predisposition among all Teutonic races to be on the lookout for something to do, and something to work for, has been modified in this country among the descendants of the Puritans by the experiences through which their ancestors passed. It has been expanded and diverted from mere selfish ends, and directed towards the good of others, and especially the good of succeeding generations. The aim which the Puritan proposed to himself as a practical object of life has been expressed by the poet in the "Golden Legend." "Let all men's good be each man's rule." No descendant of the Puritans, of any religious denomination, or even though he be without Christian faith, but feels it to be a natural instinct, in imitation of the example of his ancestors, to labor in some way for the public good, and especially for those who are to come after him. It is the very nature of the descendants of the Puritans to be public spirited and to plan for the generations that are yet unborn.

We owe also to the Puritans the estimate which is placed in this country on manhood. The Anglo-Saxons were always characterized by high ideas of personal independence. But a

new conception was joined with those ideas for the first time by the men who took the Bible for the rule of their conduct, and sought to make their lives correspond to its teachings. It was because the Bible taught them that all men are equally the objects of the special care of God, and that all men are brothers in Christ, that the whole conception of the respect that is due from man to man was changed, and no Puritan was so high in rank that he did not recognize a spiritual equality in the humblest Christian. Of a Puritan of that period it was said as something new: "He never disdained the meanest, nor flattered the greatest." "He had a loving and sweet courtesy for the poorest." No descendant of the men who settled Plymouth, Boston, or New Haven, is worthy of his ancestry, of whom this is not true to-day.

But perhaps more important still was the new self-respect that was taught those who belonged to the humbler classes of society. Nehemiah Wallington has given a beautiful sketch of his mother, who was the wife of a London Puritan mechanic. He says: "She was very loving and obedient to her parents, loving and kind to her husband, very tender-hearted to her children, loving all that was holy, much misliking the wicked and profane. She was a pattern of sobriety unto many, very seldom seen abroad except at church. When others recreated themselves at holidays and other times, she would take her needle-work and say, 'here is my recreation.' God had given her a pregnant wit and an excellent memory. She was very ripe and perfect in all stories of the Bible, likewise in all the stories of the martyrs, and could readily turn to them. She was also perfect and well seen in the English chronicles and in the descendants of the Kings of England. She lived in holy wedlock with her husband twenty years, wanting but four days."

This was the kind of respect for manhood which grew up in New England, and if any where in this land, or in the wide world, there is a human being who has been cheered in his lowly condition by knowing that there is one country where it has ever been an acknowledged fact that "a man is a man for all that," let him thank the Puritans, who learned it from the Bible, and made it here a reality.

The Puritans also gave to the world a new idea of what it is to be a gentleman. With the views respecting manhood which they received from the Bible, they conceived a new idea as to what is the proper way to treat others. Polished manners and a gracious deportment to one's equals is not enough, according to the Puritan ideal. A man may smile and smile and be a villain. There should be such delicacy of perception of the rights and feelings of others as to lead a person not only to avoid giving offense to any, high or low, but this perception should be accompanied by such a treatment of all as reveals a friendly feeling. This idea of a gentleman did not exist before the time of the Puritans. I do not say that there were not persons who had such a character. But Shakespeare uses the word "gentleman" more than five hundred times, and not once to designate anything more than a person of high social position.

A man who is habitually thoughtless of the feelings of his inferiors is not a gentleman according to the Puritan idea. One of the most eloquent of English essayists of modern times, Rev. Charles Kingsley, a dignitary of the Anglican church, says that "The Puritan and not the cavalier conception of what a British gentleman should be is the one accepted by the whole British nation at this day." And yet it is unquestionable that in this country, among gentlemen, there is a distinct quality perceptible, which has come to us from our Puritan ancestors, which is higher and nobler than anything that is common in England. I do not doubt that there are thousands of persons in England who are gentlemen in the Puritan sense of the term. It is also very probable that in that country there is a much larger number of men than in this country who possess polish of manner and high culture of every kind. But it is not intended as any disrespect to English gentlemen when I say that there is an element of what in this country we should call rudeness in the way in which English gentlemen habitually disregard all the prepossessions and tastes of even their equals with whom they come in contact, and exhibit a calm assumption of superiority, which to an American is simply ludicrous. Mr. Richard Grant White, who carried his admiration of everything English to such an extent that his name

alone in this connection almost provokes a smile, felt obliged to devote a chapter in his book on England to this marked English trait. While Englishmen are respected the world over, every one knows that they are also, as a nation, intensely disliked the world over, for their want of tact, and their disregard of the feelings of others. What I refer to may be illustrated by an anecdote which was told some years ago of one of the most prominent of British statesmen then living. He bore an ancestral name which itself was a guarantee that he had always enjoyed every social advantage. Being in the country, at the house of a friend, he was invited to address a political meeting in a neighboring town. He drove over to the public hall, where he found at the door a crowd of villagers ready to give him welcome. As he descended from the carriage a shout went up, in which the voice of a certain brawny ploughman was very conspicuous, who was swinging his hat with all enthusiasm. The noble lord fixed his eye sternly upon this man, and addressed him with the not very gracious and very peremptory order, "You fellow, stop your bawling!"

A former citizen of New Haven, still highly honored here, who lived for many years in Germany, visited the city of Thorn for the purpose of being present on an important anniversary occasion. He said that he found in the morning, in the crowded breakfast-room of the hotel, such an assemblage of German statesmen and German scholars as was rarely to be met. It chanced that an English ambassador on his way to Constantinople from London to attend a conference of the Great Powers had arrived the evening before, and coming down to breakfast found some difficulty in getting a seat for himself and his party. Standing in the middle of the room, with a loud voice, he gave utterance to some very uncalled for and contemptuous remarks about the want of politeness and the coarse manners of the German people. Dr. Joseph P. Thompson, who heard him, said that though the English ambassador spoke in English and to his own friends, he was heard and perfectly understood by every one in the room, and what he said could hardly have been a more public affront to the best men in Germany if it had been said in the Reichstag itself.

Now in the United States, with all our faults, there has

come to us directly from the Puritans, a gentleness and a genuine kindness of manner, and a respect for even the prejudices of others, which is constantly remarked by Englishmen themselves who have been in this country.

Mr. James Russell Lowell, in his recent volume of poems, in the tribute which he pays to his friend Professor Agassiz, well describes the Puritan idea of a gentleman. It may be considered to be the recognition by an American descendant of the Puritans of the same qualities which marked a descendant of the Swiss Puritans.

He was so human ! Neither strong or weak,
Far from his kind he neither sank nor soared,
But sate an equal guest at every board.
No beggar ever felt him condescend,
No prince presume ; for still himself he bare
At manhood's simple level, and where'er
He met a stranger, there he left a friend.

One other characteristic has been stamped by the Puritans on the whole American people—a peculiar respect for woman. I quote from one of the latest of the English historians, who says that even in England a new conception of womanhood was developed by them. He says expressly, in so many words, that “Home as we conceive it now, was the creation of the Puritans.” “Wife and child rose from mere dependents on the will of husband or father, as husband or father saw in them saints like himself, souls hallowed by the touch of a divine spirit, and called with a divine calling like his own. The sense of spiritual fellowship gave a new tenderness and refinement to the common family affections.” This feeling also was intensified in this country, and the respect with which woman has ever been treated here is known the world over. A respectful deference is manifested to her here which is accorded to her nowhere else in the world. The American woman of all others may well join in grateful acknowledgments to her Puritan ancestry.

CURRENT LITERATURE.

RECENT BOOKS ON PHILOSOPHY AND PSYCHOLOGY.

ANIMAL MAGNETISM.*—This interesting book renders accessible, for the first time, to the public of English readers the results of the more advanced school of French experimenters regarding the phenomena and causes of hypnotism. Its observations were conducted according to “the method inaugurated by M. Charcot, the chief of the school of the Salpêtrière.” The whole subject is treated with that clearness which distinguishes the national scientific literature; everything is, therefore, made perfectly intelligible even to those who have no technical acquaintance with the subject.

After a brief sketch of the history of so-called animal magnetism in its three periods of the “beginnings” made by Mesmer and Puysegur, “the Academic Period,” and the period beginning with Braid, the authors proceed to describe the modes of producing the hypnotic condition, its symptoms, and the various hypnotic states. The phenomena of suggestion and hallucination are then presented; and, finally, the application of hypnotism to the cure of disease and to education is discussed, while the book closes with a chapter on “Hypnotism and Responsibility.”

The inexpert reader, on perusing the somewhat too diffuse description of these marvellous phenomena, should bear in mind that—as seems probable—the French subjects, if we are to trust the accounts of the experimenters with them, are, as a rule, more susceptible to extreme hypnotic influences than those who offer themselves for experiment in England. Moreover, as we have already remarked, the school represented by this treatise has had the largest success in developing marvels, even among the investigators on French ground.

PHYSICAL EXPRESSION.†—This volume of the International Scientific Series will be especially welcomed by those who are

* *Animal Magnetism*. By ALFRED BINET and CHARLES FÉRÉ. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1888.

† *Physical Expression, its Modes and Principles*. By FRANCIS WARNER, M.D. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

fond of applying the methods of the physical sciences to the study of the human mind. As a matter of convenience the author uses "the term *mentation* for that physical action of the brain which is associated with the phenomena of mind." If we hold him strictly to this use of the term, we must understand that his treatise designs to show how various molecular changes in the centres of the brain, themselves excited by internal or external stimuli, result in those actions and posturings of the muscles which experience leads us to consider as expressive of particular thoughts and feelings.

The book contains nineteen chapters and about fifty illustrations. The movements of the muscles of the face in facial expression, the active and the fixed hand as indicating particular ideas and emotions, the postures of the whole body and of its separate principal parts, expression in the head, and in the eyes, etc., are all considered in detail. The expressions of human as distinct from merely animal feeling, and the changes in expression due to development from infant to adult mental life, or to the approaches of mental imbecility, receive a due share of attention.

In some places the treatment of the subject is rather too technical for easy mastery by the average reader; and some of the terms employed will probably be unfamiliar to such a reader. But in most such instances the information gained will well repay the painstaking necessary to overcome this difficulty.

SENSES AND WILL.*—Although this volume belongs to the International Education Series, it will prove interesting, not to teachers alone. Students of psychology, not already familiar with its author's work, and parents, will certainly read it with eagerness and profit. We heartily accord with what is said by Professor G. Stanley Hall in introducing the American edition: "It should be read by teachers and even by parents of older children, as the best example of the inductive method applied to the study of child-psychology." The same authority on matters of pedagogics declares that this book of Preyer is "the fullest and on the whole the best among all the nearly fourscore studies of young children printed by careful empirical and often thoroughly scientific observers."

How early and in what order do the senses of sight, hearing,

* *The Mind of the Child*. Part I. The Senses and the Will. Observations concerning the Mental Development of the Human Being in the First Years of Life. By W. PREYER. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1888.

feeling (or touch), taste, and smell, and the various so-called organic sensations, developed in the new-born babe? These are among the questions which Professor Preyer undertakes to answer in a thoroughly scientific way. Especially important, of course, is the early development of the sense of sight. Sensibility to light, discrimination of colors, movements of the eye-lids and eyes, direction of the look, seeing near and distant objects, and interpretation of what is seen, are all successively traced.

The development of the Will in connection with impulsive, reflex, instinctive, initiative, expressive, and deliberative movements, is described in the Second Part.

We can assure all those who take an interest in the evolution of child-life, from whatever point of view, that this little volume will well repay a careful reading.

PHYSIOLOGY AND PSYCHOLOGY.*—Among the many titles affixed to the name of the author of this treatise, the first is that of "Special pathologist, county insane asylum, Chicago." The method and manners of the book are of a kind happily somewhat less frequent now than a few years since. Yet the phrases, "bewildered metaphysicians," "baleful influence of teleology," etc., which occur here, are not so nearly antiquated as not to have a familiar sound.

Dr. Clevenger treats his readers to considerable valuable and interesting information of a biological character, drawn from not unfamiliar sources, but mingles with it scarcely less of interesting yet exceedingly doubtful conjecture. This he calls science—the science of physiology. It is not, however, by any means all *science*; indeed, much of it is guessing, not to say mythology. For the psychological implications he relies chiefly upon Herbert Spencer and Charles Darwin, to whom he accords a vast influence in "the evolution of a sensible psychology." Huxley, Wundt, Ribot, Meynert, and Spitzka, moreover, should be accorded full recognition. Nothing in the book shows that the author has any adequate acquaintance with, or even conception of, the modern experimental psychology or the newer forms of introspective psychology. In these matters a more bewildered metaphysician than Dr. Clevenger seems sometimes to become, it would not be easy to find.

* *Comparative Physiology and Psychology: A Discussion of the Evolution and Relations of the Mind and Body of Man and Animals.* By S. V. CLEVENGER, M.D. Chicago: Jansen, McClurg & Co.

PSYCHICAL RESEARCH.*—This third number of the reports of the American Society shows that it is continuing its work with a somewhat accelerating movement. The volume contains an account of the meetings of the Society, and brief reports from the various committees on Thought-Transference, Apparitions, and Haunted Houses, Mediumistic Phenomena, Hypnotic Phenomena, etc. On the whole, the most interesting of its contents are a paper by Professor Pierce, criticizing Gurney's "Phantasms of the Living," Remarks by Gurney on this paper, and a "Rejoinder" by Professor Pierce. General readers as well as professional psychologists will also be interested in examining the results obtained from patients themselves, and tabulated and discussed in Professor James' paper on "The Consciousness of Lost Limbs."

THE HEART OF THE CREEDS.†—The author of this book affirms that it is the growth of his own sense of need. The need felt was that of a clear, concise, and popular statement of the "rational theology of the early Church and of the best thinkers of our own time,"—"the undisputed religious principles which make the basis of the Creeds and Institutions of historical Christianity." As to his success there will no doubt be a wide divergence of opinion among his different readers. But we think that one of a candid and fair mind may go through this little book with interest and profit. And few things seem to us more foolish and ineffective than the attempts of the current ecclesiastical orthodoxy to forbid such a writer to speak in the name of Christianity, because his mode of enunciating the essence of Christian truth does not precisely accord with the more familiar terminology.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE HEATH IN THE WILDERNESS.‡—Here is a collection of twenty evangelical and practical sermons by the late Dr. Newton

* Proceedings of the American Society for Psychical Research. Damrell & Upham, December, 1887.

† *The Heart of the Creeds*. Historical Religion in the Light of Modern Thought, by ARTHUR WENTWORTH EATON. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1888.

‡ *The Heath in the Wilderness, or Sermons to the People*. By Rev. RICHARD NEWTON, D.D. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

of Philadelphia. These discourses show the marvelous faculty of illustration which Dr. Newton possessed, and which made him for so many years the prince of preachers to the young; they also reveal somewhat of the secret of his success as rector over the several parishes he served in the city of Philadelphia. For no one can read them without feeling that the preacher was a genial, large-hearted man, thoroughly consecrated to his Master's work. Their homiletic style is good, and the student preacher will find them profitable for study. A brief biography of Dr. Newton, by his son, Rev. W. W. Newton of Pittsfield, makes the book more valuable to all who find profit in the story of a very busy and remarkably successful Christian ministry.

FIVE-MINUTE SERMONS.*—This little volume contains an even hundred five-minute sermons or "talks" rather, to children. Evidently Mr. Armstrong has genius for this work. The pastor who desires to cultivate the art of such preaching, will do well to examine this book.

SPURGEON'S "SERMON NOTES.†"—This is the last in a series of four volumes of outlines of sermons delivered in the London Tabernacle. There may have been some good reason for their publication. Perhaps an occasional student of homiletics will be interested in them, and yet there are enough complete discourses by Mr. Spurgeon, in print, for that purpose. In the preface, the author says that "there are times of special pressure, bodily sickness, or mental weariness, wherein a man is glad of brotherly help, and may use it without question. For such occasions I have tried to provide." It is to be hoped that Mr. Spurgeon does not train the young men in his college to such use of other men's homiletic work in their preaching. If a minister is ill or weary so that he cannot prepare an original sermon, let him read one of Robertson's or Brooks' or even Spurgeon's and frankly tell his audience whose sermon it is. Books like these encourage "mental weariness," and foster pulpit plagiarism. Their only possible good use is in the lecture-room. There are scattered through the book, in foot notes, many illustrative historical incidents, which would make the book really valuable, were they properly indexed.

* *Five-Minute Sermons to Children*; by Rev. WILLIAM ARMSTRONG. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

† *My Sermon Notes*. By C. H. SPURGEON. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

THEOLOGY OF THE SHORTER CATECHISM.*—Dr. Schaff says of the Westminster Catechism: "It is one of the three typical catechisms of Protestantism, which are likely to last to the end of time."

Undoubtedly it is in the main, an accurate and remarkably comprehensive statement of Christian truth. Its influence upon the religious thought and life of modern Christendom has been, and still remains very great. In view of these facts the authors of this book have done a good work in their exposition of the Shorter Catechism, thereby giving to pastors and teachers a valuable text-book, by which to popularize the study of theology. The work was begun by the late Dr. Hodge of Princeton, but his sudden death left Part II., relating to "Duty Required of Man," unfinished.

Dr. J. A. Hodge of Hartford who writes this portion of the book has so successfully carried out the plan and followed the style of the Professor, that one would scarcely suspect the volume was thus prepared, if the title page did not reveal the fact. The book is provided with a full set of questions, and a complete index.

THE STORY OF THE PSALMS.†—Dr. Van Dyke has here given us, most charmingly, the story of the best loved of the Psalms of the "Hebrew Hymn Book." And he has done it in a way that very suggestively combines their historical, ethical, and spiritual elements. In showing how incidents in the lives of their authors are set forth in these poems, he gives them a touch of reality, and brings them home to our hearts, so that they become mirrors of our own life. No one can read—for example—the expositions of Ps. li., "The Prodigal's Return," and of Ps. xxxii., "Music and Dancing," and not realize how true they are to his own personal knowledge of sin, penitence, and pardon. The volume includes only eighteen of the psalms, but the pleasure and profit derived from our author's exposition of them, leads us to wish that he would continue his delightful "Story of the Psalms."

* *Theology of the Shorter Catechism.* By Rev. A. A. HODGE, D.D., and Rev. J. A. HODGE, D.D. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

† *The Story of the Psalms.* By HENRY VAN DYKE, D.D. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons.

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ART. I. The New Danger which threatens Russia.

William L. Kingsley, New Haven.

II. Modern French Æsthetics.

D. Cady Eaton, New Haven.

III. Architecture in America.

E. Gandolfo, New York City.

UNIVERSITY TOPICS.

Sermon of President Dwight preached in the University Chapel on the first Sunday of the Academical Year.

Yale University Bulletin.

CURRENT LITERATURE.

Principles and Practice of Morality. By Ezekiel Gilman Robinson, D.D., LL.D.—Christian Archæology. By Charles W. Bennett, D.D.—Sacred History from the Creation to the Giving of the Law. By Prof. Humphrey, D.D., LL.D.—Methods of Church Work. By Rev. Sylvanus Stall, A.M.—The Book of Genesis. By Marcus Dodds, D.D.

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IMPERIAL GRANUM has now been before the public for many years, and is generally admitted to be a standard preparation. There can be no doubt that this is due to its uniformly superior quality, and the successful results obtained with it in all cases where an artificial food is required.—*Popular Science News*, Boston, February, '88.

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P. VARNUM MOTT, M. D., Boston, Mass., in the *Microcosm*, New York, February, 1886.—"There are numerous Foods that are much vaunted, and all have their adherents. The 'IMPERIAL GRANUM,' in my hands, seems to be all that is claimed for it, and experience has brought me to rely on its use where its special properties are indicated. In infantile diseases it has proved very efficacious, and I always direct its use when a child is being weaned."

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NEW ENGLANDER

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No. CCXXIII.

OCTOBER, 1888.

ARTICLE I.—THE NEW DANGER WHICH THREATENS RUSSIA.

The Russian Peasantry: their agrarian condition, social life, and religion. By STEPNIAK; author of "Russia under the Tsars"; the "Russian Storm-Cloud," etc. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1888. 12 mo. pp. 401.

THE great disturber of the peace of Europe and Asia is Russia. That one nation is a constant menace to every other "from Hecla to the Ganges." Everywhere she is aggressive. In Asia, she is rapidly absorbing province after province. There is not a sheik in all the central region of that vast continent who is not in her pay, or who does not tremble as he marks the progress of her armies. In Europe, her influence is everywhere exerted in favor of absolutism, and her statesmen do not hesitate to avow that it is the "historic destiny" of Russia to convert the Western nations to their own peculiar ideas of govern-

ment. Nothing is better known than that her aim has been for years to absorb the whole Turkish empire; and that all the resources of her diplomacy have been, and still are, directed to effect that coveted object. If she is successful—as an “old resident of Constantinople,” well known and honored in the United States, has recently warned the English people, in an Article in the *Contemporary Review*, with the title “Is Constantinople worth fighting for?”—if she is successful—in a month, a quarter of a million of bayonets would be added to the effective force of the armies of the Czar; an enormous revenue to support them would be extorted from the rich towns and villages of European and Asiatic Turkey, and the influence of the new and greatly enlarged Russia would be quadrupled in every cabinet in Europe. What government but would think twice before saying nay to any intimation that then came from St. Petersburg?

If there is any doubt about the extent of the influence of Russia even to-day, let it be remembered that the people of Western Europe had scarcely ceased to applaud those brave words of Prince Bismarck, “We run after nobody,” when he set himself against the marriage of the daughter of the Emperor Frederick to Prince Alexander for fear lest the Autocrat of the Russias might take offence! Almost the first official act of Emperor William was to pay a ceremonious visit to the Czar; and, on his return to Germany, we were told that he went straight to Varzin, where, on arriving at two o'clock in the morning, he was ushered into the bedroom of the Chancellor, who was roused from his slumbers that he might listen to an account of what had been said and done! What wonder that *Figaro* jeered, and, pointing the finger of scorn, announced that now for the first time in history it had come to pass that a German Emperor had gone in person to make an official report of his doings to his own prime minister!

It has long seemed as if there was nothing to stay the growth of the power of the Czar. We have been told that a large body of the educated classes among his subjects were dissatisfied, and were hoping for a constitutional government. But living under such a reign of terror there have been few who have even dared to avow their convictions publicly, and Mr. Kennan has

made us only too well acquainted with the sufferings which those few have had to endure. As long as eighty-two per cent. of the whole population of Russia proper are ignorant peasants who are religiously obedient to the Czar, what is there for him to fear! The taxes are collected, the conscripts for the army are each year forthcoming, and the government presents the same bold front to the world.

But rumors have for some time been coming to us that there is beginning to be a change in the condition of that vast inert mass of peasants. It is not the pleasing tidings that there is at last a manifestation of progress or improvement of any kind among them. What we have heard is more in keeping with the past terrible history of this strange people. The story is that the peasants, under the present regulations of the government, are actually dying from the want of proper and sufficient food. This very week there was a letter from a recent traveller published in one of the New York newspapers, which repeats this statement.

But we are not left to the reports of unknown newspaper correspondents. Mikhail Dragomanoff, formerly a Professor in the University of Kiev, who was driven into exile in 1876 for political offenses, has written the book whose title we have placed at the head of this Article, to make known to the world the present condition of the Russian peasantry. Dragomanoff has, before this, written several books under the *nom de plume* of "Stepniak," and has shown that he has a thorough understanding of all that pertains to the interior condition of his native land. He writes dispassionately, and has long been recognized as a trustworthy authority. He says that, in the thirteen provinces which comprise Central Russia, "the mortality, always on the increase, reached when the last census was taken (1882), *sixty-two per thousand per annum*! Nothing approaching this prevails in any other part of Europe. It would be incredible, were it not officially attested. The birth-rate in these provinces being forty-five (the normal rate for the whole empire), this is equal to a decrease of seventeen per thousand per year. In the heart of Russia the population is being starved out! The medical report, moreover, notices that the provinces where the mortality is greatest are those where

the land produces a full supply of bread. The starving out of the peasants who till it is therefore a work of 'art' and not of nature." He says further, in addition to the fact that "the population in thirteen provinces is literally being starved out," that "at the present day, one-third of our formerly independent peasants are reduced to the state of homeless, downtrodden, beggarly *batracks*." (p. 60.) And still further, he says, that "if nothing happens to check or hinder the process of interior disintegration of our villages, in another generation we shall have on one side an agricultural proletariat of sixty to seventy millions, and on the other a few thousands of landlords, mostly former *koulaks* and "mir-eaters," in possession of all the land." (p. 50.)

The passages we have quoted give the keynote of the book. It is the wail of a patriot who sees no way of arresting the action of causes that are surely and rapidly carrying havoc among those who are the bone and sinew of the land. The danger that threatens Russia appears from the fact, which we have already stated, that the tillers of the soil constitute eighty-two per cent. of the entire population, which is for European Russia—exclusive of Finland and Poland,—about sixty-three millions; and on these millions rests the whole fabric of the Russian government and Russian society.

For the benefit of our readers, we will explain, as concisely as possible, the process by which this terrible state of things has been brought about. It is a very brief story.

But before proceeding to do this, it will be necessary to recall to mind what was the condition of the peasants at the time of the "emancipation." It will be remembered that the serfs on the estates of the nobles were freed in 1861, and those on the government lands in 1864. Stepniak's description of them, as they were at that time, is in exact agreement with that which was given by Mr. Mackenzie Wallace in his famous book on Russia, which was published in 1877. No one who read that book will forget his account of the peasants, and of the *mir*s, or little communes, in which they exercised so great a degree of self-government. The lives of those peasants, or *moujiks*, were passed under conditions very unlike anything

which would be endurable by any class of laborers brought up according to our Western ideas. They not only did not care for anything that we call "comfort," but to a degree which was truly Spartan seemed entirely indifferent to even hardships. Yet they were sociable, frank, and truthful in their dealings with each other. They were "brisk in mind and speech," and were "quick to love and quick to forget." One of their special characteristics is said to have been their attachment to the land. But this love of the land, of which we have heard so much, does not seem to have been anything like the attachment of an American to the familiar scenes amid which his boyhood was passed, or to the acres which he has cultivated for years. It seems to have been rather the love of a laborer for a certain kind of work which is congenial to him than of any concrete attachment to the land itself. It was more like the love which a fisherman has for the ocean. The fisherman's vessel is here to-day and there to-morrow. His love for the ocean is not a love for any particular part of it. He loves the excitement of his fisherman life. So the *moujiks* seem to love the employment of working on the land, rather than the land itself. For instance they take not the slightest interest in land that is lying fallow.

The *moujiks* enjoyed a considerable degree of self-government. They managed all their communal concerns in an assemblage of all the persons who made up the *mir*. In these meetings, they decided how the land should be allotted to the different families, and what should be done with the forests belonging to the *mir*. They decided to whom the public houses should be leased. They distributed among themselves the taxes which fell to the share of their commune. They elected certain rural officers. Such was their loyalty and self-devotion to the commune, and such their feeling of mutual helpfulness, that all the public questions that came before the *mir* were never decided by a mere majority, but only when an unanimous vote could be obtained. Their self-respect, too, and their disposition to stand boldly for their rights, was something that was surprising under such a despotic government as that of the Czar. Engelhardt says: "That which struck me most, when I was listening to the peasants' discussions at the village

meetings, was the freedom of speech the *moujiks* granted to themselves. *We* [he means the well-to-do, the upper classes], when discussing anything, always look suspiciously around, hesitating whether such or such things may safely be uttered or not, trembling lest we be collared, and taken before some one in authority. As to the *moujik*, he fears nothing. Publicly, in the street, before the village, he discusses all kinds of political and social questions; always fully and frankly speaking his mind about everything. A *moujik*, when not in disgrace with his landlord or with the Czar, which means that he has paid all his taxes to both, is afraid of nobody. . . . He may stand bare-headed before you, but you feel that you have to deal with an independent, plain-spoken man, who is not at all inclined to be obsequious to you, or to take his tone from you."

There was great similarity in the way in which the serfs lived. The difference in this respect between those who were esteemed rich and those who were poor was hardly appreciable. With few exceptions the different families lived in small houses, from fifteen to twenty feet in length and width, which rarely had more than two rooms, and often had but one. Here men, women, and children, and the grown-up sons, if there were any, and their wives and children, were all huddled together. "The quantity of air afforded for respiration is so puzzlingly small that our hygienists are forced to admit the endosmical action of the walls as the only hypothesis which will account for the fact that these people are not literally suffocated." There is no "furniture" beyond a big unpolished table of the simplest pattern, which stands in the place of honor in a corner under the *ikons*, or images of saints, and some long wooden benches, about two feet deep, running along the walls. "These benches are used for sitting on in the day time and for sleeping on at night. When the family is a large one, some of its members at bed-time mount to an upper tier of shelves, which line the walls like hammocks in a ship's cabin. Nothing bearing the likeness of a mattress is to be seen; a few worn out rugs are thinly spread over the bare wood of the benches, or on the floor, and that is all. The every-day coat just taken off serves as a blanket. . . . In the winter the large top of the stone oven is the favorite sleeping-place, and is generally re-

served for the elders, so that they may keep their old bones warm."

All the peasants, rich and poor, dress in the most simple manner, and pretty much in the same way. They wear no undergarment, a shirt of homespun, light cotton or linen trousers, and a long woolen home-spun coat, which in winter is replaced by a sheepskin overcoat. This dress is rarely taken off the whole year round unless when they are at work or asleep. Being so seldom changed, the peasants' clothes are not a model of cleanliness, but both men and women, as a rule, keep their bodies very clean. Every family not totally destitute has its hot steam-bath, where all wash on the eve of every holiday with the greatest punctiliousness. The poorer among them, who have no bath of their own, use the family oven for this purpose just after the removal of the coal. This is a real martyrdom, as the first sensation of a man unaccustomed to such exploits is that of being roasted alive."

"As to food, the allowance which has to be made for wealth is exceedingly modest. Those peasant families which can be classed as rich or well-to-do use whole-meal bread and gruel all the year round." But even they do not depart from the chiefly vegetarian and extremely simple diet common to the average peasant. They eat meat on Sundays, and occasionally on a week day, but never every day.

This very brief account of the serfs, at the time of their emancipation, is perhaps sufficient to make it plain that they had little more to support life than what was absolutely necessary. Their masters were allowed by law to require them—"men, women, and horses"—to labor on their estates at least three days in the week; and the three days which were left them for work on the little plots of ground that they were permitted to cultivate for themselves were only enough to keep these "human cattle"—as Stepniak calls them—in sufficient health and strength to make their labor profitable to their owners. But hard as was their lot, they were at least able to live, and it is claimed that there was then no agrarian proletariat in Russia whatever.

The cause of the present terrible state of things is to be traced to the system which was adopted at the time of emanci-

pation. The purpose of the government, as stated in the Act which gave liberty to the serfs, was to make an allotment of land to them which should "satisfy their needs and enable them to meet their obligations to the State"—that is, enable them to live and pay their taxes. But, as a matter of fact, the land was so parsimoniously apportioned that the enfranchised peasants—in numbers increasing every year—have found the greatest difficulty in providing themselves with the necessaries of life.

The arrangement for the State peasants was far more satisfactory than for the serfs of the nobility. The State peasants received twice as much land as the "serfs;"—enough, perhaps, to provide them with food all the year round, if they had had no other outgoings. But, not to speak of other expenses, they were obliged to pay heavy taxes; and these, according to the report of an Imperial Commission in 1871—ten years after the emancipation—were, for the class of former "State peasants," 92.75 per cent. of the average net produce of their land, and for the former "serfs," to whom had been allotted a smaller amount of land, 198.25. So, if we take into consideration the necessary expenses for both food and taxes, as Stepniak says: "With plots of land so small that the best conditioned half of the rural population (originally State peasants) could only win from them sufficient to supply one-half of the amount absolutely needed, while their poorer brethren (former serfs) could only gain from one-fifth to one-third, it was an arithmetical impossibility that the peasants should live on the profits of their land."

To make up the large deficit in their incomes, the bulk of the peasantry were obliged to turn to wage-labor. At first a large proportion of them found work on the vast estates of their former masters. But with all that they could do, this did not suffice for large numbers. Agriculture in Russia is so primitive and backward, and "so affected by the caprices of nature and climate" that from year to year there are immense fluctuations in the harvests. In Southern Russia, the variations are eighty-seven per cent. In Central Russia, where the system of culture is technically somewhat better, the difference

between the yearly harvests is not so great, but even there it reaches forty-nine per cent. In a good year, the laborers were paid a price that was sufficient to supply their immediate necessities. But in a bad year, they were in sore trouble and distress, and were obliged to run after work in all directions and take it at starvation wages.

This state of things soon led to "wholesale wanderings" in search of employment. The families reduced to the extreme limit the number of able-bodied laborers kept at home, so as to set a greater number free for the chances of "outside earnings." But, as might have been expected, there was in these wanderings no system or order. "The peasants of the province of Viatka rushed to Samara, while those of Samara tried their luck in Viatka, and both Samara and Viatka sent batches of their men to the Black Sea Steppes, which returned them a Roland for their Oliver." So the traveling expenses, and the losses occasioned by the hundreds of thousands of failures, amounted every year to scores of millions of rubles, and were a direct loss in the popular economy, acting on the peasants as a dead weight which dragged them down."

The difficulty was that the whole of the peasantry were in extreme need of extra earnings, and it was impossible, in a country where almost the only important industry was agriculture, for all to find work as laborers on the land. But Stepniak says that it is one of the peculiarities of the Russian peasant that he never despairs. He puts a good face upon all difficulties that cannot be avoided, and leaves no stone unturned in the endeavor to make both ends meet. So they applied for whatever work they could hope to get, and adapted themselves to any they could find—in the factories, at the railways, at the wharfs, in the thousand petty trades which congregate in towns. "They did everything which a ready mind, coupled with a hungry stomach, could suggest." The sums realized in this way were very considerable. Of course there is a great difference in different parts of the country. In the province of Novgorod, one-third of the peasants are permanently engaged in various outside industries, and their wages amount to about nine and a half millions of rubles a year, while from their land they receive only two and a half millions.

But out of this total of twelve millions, the Novgorod *moujiks* pay 65 per cent. in taxes.

Now to meet all these difficulties, there was but one expedient left—and that was to increase the number of working hours. The account which Stepniak gives of what has been the result is almost incredible, but he quotes from the reports of the "Inquiry Commission" appointed by the government. We will transfer one or two of his statements to our pages.

"Among weavers, lace makers, rope twisters, fur dressers, and locksmiths, it is a common thing for men to work seventeen hours a day—sometimes more. The mat makers—an extensive trade carried on in four hundred villages of twenty-six provinces, and returning two millions of rubles yearly—work such appallingly long hours that they have invented a sort of a relay system. They sleep three times in the twenty-four hours, at about equal intervals; first at dark, until 10 p. m., when they wake for their night's work; then after the early breakfast at dawn; and again after the dinner hour. As they work, eat, and sleep in the same dusty workshop, and certainly fall asleep as soon as they drop on the floor, they contrive to squeeze out of themselves nineteen hours of work a day, and sometimes twenty-one! 'When the work is very pressing,' says the report of the Commission, 'the mat makers do not sleep more than three hours—one at a time.'" Stepniak adds: "Among all these trades, in which millions of people—men, women, and small children—are engaged, there are few in which the working time is less than sixteen hours a day."

The medical inspectors say of the factories in which these people work that "the hygienic conditions are so bad, and the hours so long, that the only thing which prevents their being slaughtered in a mass is the fact that they return to their villages for the summer months and are there able to recuperate their strength." Our readers may be interested to know under what condition it is that they "recuperate their strength." Stepniak tells us that even the field labor has its terrors. "When the work is not what they consider to be 'specially pressing,' they rise before the sun in the very long Northern day, and do not go to rest until it is dark." But when the harvest time comes, they call it, in their idiom, *strada* or "suffer-

ance." At that time they do not allow themselves six hours' rest out of the twenty-four. "Towards the close of the season, they get thin and their faces grow dark and emaciated from overwork. They get so exhausted that if the fine weather lasts for a long time the peasant will in his secret heart pray to God for rain that he may have a day of rest."

Agricultural labor is certainly the healthiest of all occupations, provided the laborer has food enough to make up for the great physical exertion the work entails. But Stepniak says that "in the terrible struggle for life and independence which the peasants have been waging under such unfavorable conditions for the last twenty-six years, they have been obliged to economize in their food." He says that now the average peasant not only "hardly ever eats meat, but whole-meal rye-bread and whole buckwheat, and gruel made of grits, are dainties which they only taste during the few months, sometimes weeks, which immediately follow the harvest." After that, their bread is mixed with cut up straw and pulverized bark. In 1878, samples of this bread were exhibited in the Geographical Society, which no one would believe was intended for the consumption of man. "It looked like a brownish sandy coal of inferior quality, or like dried manure, and it fell to pieces when pressed between the fingers, so great was the amount of non-nutritive ingredients mixed with the flour." This is said to be "exceptional;" as undoubtedly is another case mentioned, where the peasants for several winters which followed bad harvests had to feed on what they called "straw bread"—straw pulverized in a mill, with diluted flour added, but in such small quantity, that when baked the loaves could not hold together. "The dough crumbled up on the bottom of the oven, and had to be swept out with a broom and eaten with spoons." But without reference to such exceptional cases, Stepniak declares that "the average peasant family in the Russian villages leads a life of privation and fasting which would do honor to a convent of Trappists." He says that the peasants of Russia are to-day walking "on a slippery declivity, at the foot of which yawns the abyss of misery and degradation; that a whole third of their number have already slipped down the descent since 1861, and are now at the bottom. There are to-day twenty millions of

landless rural proletarians in Russia; and among the forty remaining millions, who still hold their lands, there are yet other millions who will join the ranks of the ruined to-morrow, if not to-day."

The description which we have given will seem to those who have read the book which we have before us, to give a very inadequate idea of the hard lot of the Russian peasantry. But perhaps enough has been said to make it clear that, with all the "outside earnings" that they have been able to make, nothing could have prevented their sliding down into hopeless poverty. But Stepniak goes on to show how this necessary result has been hastened. Russia is a country where there is substantially but one industry, and the whole economical life of the empire—railways, banks, finances—so far as interior policy goes, is concerned with the manipulation of agricultural produce. The present system of banking went into operation in 1864, and it may be said that almost the whole of the banking capital is used for the purchase of grain, and its transportation on the railways. When the harvest is gathered in, and the granaries of the peasants are filled with as much grain as they have been able to raise, the speculators begin their work. They strain every nerve to raise all the money they can. The cash reserves of the banks—State as well as private—are heavily drawn upon. Private deposits are utilized for the same purpose. All the disposable capital of the empire finds its way into the hands of the grain merchants, whose agents traverse the country far and wide, doing their utmost to obtain from the peasants as much of their yearly harvest, and leave them as little, as they can. Then at this critical moment of the struggle between the purses of the merchants and the stomachs of the peasants, the State intervenes by making a new issue of paper money. Commercial transactions are nearly all carried on by "credit rubles," which are nominally convertible into gold and silver, yet in reality are not convertible at all, but only saleable at their effective value, which fluctuates between sixty and sixty-five per cent. of their nominal value. In the three months of the autumn market season, the Exchequer issues eighty-six per cent. of the whole paper money of the

year, whereby is caused a depreciation of the "credit ruble," which in this season can be obtained at its lowest price, both in the world's money markets and in all Russian financial centers. But the cost of this operation, as Stepniak says, "is really borne by the *moujiks*. The wave of depreciation of the paper ruble does not reach the green fields of Russia, the villages and hamlets where the bargain is struck. Here the enormous mass of paper money, advanced by the State and the banks to the traders, keeps all its buying power, and takes from the producers the corresponding quantity of their produce." If the harvest has been a good one, it may be well enough for the more fortunate peasants to sell any superfluous grain they may have. But in a bad year, there are very few who will not really need in the coming winter all that they have raised. But they know that in a few weeks their autumn taxes will fall due; and it must be remembered that their annual tax amounts to about forty-five per cent. of their whole income—"outside earnings" included. They know that the tax collector shows no mercy, that his patience is very short, and when exhausted is quickly followed by severe floggings and the forced sale of the insolvent's belongings. So, with the fear of the lash before him, the peasant parts with his grain, "receives the yellow, green, and blue painted strips of paper called money," which he can keep "only long enough just to dirty it," and returns it faithfully in the form of taxes to the State, although he knows that he will have to buy it back in a few weeks, or a few months at most, and lose heavily thereby, because grain is cheap in September, and from thirty to fifty per cent. dearer in the winter and spring. Nevertheless they commit each year this economical absurdity, which they thoroughly understand. They know well how hard it is to make money in winter, yet they will risk hunger and every hardship in order to escape the lash which is ever hanging over them. Stepniak says that the whole system acts like a colossal hydraulic press. As soon as the peasants receive the proceeds of their harvest, they are squeezed out of them in such a way that every year increasing numbers of families are left destitute.

From what has been said, it is evident that the whole body of Russian peasants are in a very precarious position. There

are very few families which are so prosperous that any one of many contingencies, which are liable to occur any day, may not throw them into difficulties from which they can never hope to extricate themselves. The death or sickness of a father, or of any one of the efficient laborers in their households, or a bad harvest, may deprive them of their ability to satisfy the tax collector. Then when the lash is in plain view, the family or the peasant is forced to borrow. This necessity has led to the springing up everywhere of a new class of persons who lend money. The description which Stepniak gives of them we transfer to our pages as literally as some condensation will allow. These people, he says, are called *koulaks* or *mir-eaters*. There is no village commune that has not several representatives of this class. The *koulaks* are peasants who have by good luck or individual ability saved a little money. This done, the way to further advancement is easy and rapid. They need neither skill or industry. All that is necessary is promptitude to turn to their own profit the needs, the sorrows, the sufferings, and the misfortunes of their neighbors. The distinctive characteristic of these *koulaks* is the hardness and unflinching cruelty of a thoroughly uneducated man who has made his way from poverty to wealth and has come to consider making money by any means whatever to be the only object of life. These men lend on the security of work which is to be done at some future time. A paper is drawn up which sets forth all the terms of the agreement, which is made with a great deal of detail. A paragraph, of which the following is a sample, is usually inserted. "I, the undersigned, agree to submit myself to all the rules and customs in force on the estates of N. N. During the period of work I will be perfectly obedient to N. N.'s manager, and will not refuse to work at night, not only at such work as I have undertaken to do, as set forth above, but any other work that may be required of me. Moreover I have no right to keep Sunday and holidays." The imposition of heavy penalties is agreed to in case there is any damage occasioned by the negligence of the borrower—generally four or five times in excess of the actual damage. The agreement never omits to mention that it retains its binding power for an indefinite number of

years. Thus, if the lender should not require the borrower to work in the immediately following summer (as might happen were the harvest deficient and labor cheap and easily obtainable), he is free to call on him to liquidate his debt in the following year, or even the year after, thus securing for himself cheap labor at the time when wages are likely to be at their maximum. The result of such a system of anticipating the payment of wages is of course disastrous. From the mass of illustrations furnished we will quote but a single one. "According to Mr. Trirogoff, the harvesting of one dessiatine in the province of Saratoff costs on an average eight rubles if done by laborers engaged in the summer at market rates, while the laborer who is working out his indebtedness receives three or four rubles for the same work." "It is no uncommon thing," he adds, "to see laborers of each class working side by side, the one for ten the other for three and a-half rubles per dessiatine."

But the space at our command will only allow us to give two illustrations of the way in which whole villages or peasants' associations under the guarantee and responsibility of the *mir* are ruined.

"In January, 1880, a large village of the Samara province, Soloturn, borrowed from a merchant of the name of Jaroff the sum of £600, interest being paid in advance, and bought from Jaroff's stock 15,000 *pouds* of hay for their starving cattle. Repayment was to be made on October 1st, 1880, under the condition that £5 should be added for every day's delay. When the time of payment arrived, the peasants brought £200 on account of their debt to Jaroff, who made not the slightest objection to waiting for the balance. For eleven months thereafter he kept quiet. But in September, 1881, he brought an action against the village for £1,500. The magistrate before whom the case was tried, being evidently in a frame of mind not unlike that of Antonio's judges, decided against the plaintiff. But Jaroff was not much discouraged thereby. Confident in his rights, he appealed to a higher court and won his case. And as this proceeding caused further delay, the claim, by accumulation of interest, had doubled, and Jaroff got judgment for £3,000 in satisfaction of a debt of £600, of which £200 had been repaid!"

"In the Novousen district of the same province, the peasants of the village of Shendorf, being in great distress during the winter of 1880, borrowed from a clergyman named K—— £700, undertaking to pay him in eight months £1,050 (i. e. fifty per cent. for eight months), on condition that in case of default they should give Mr. K——, pending repayment, 3,500 dessiatines of their arable land at an annual rent of ten kopecks per dessiatine. As the peasants were unable to fulfill their engagements, Mr. K—— received the 3,500 dessiatines for 350 rubles, and forthwith re-let the land to the peasants themselves at the normal rent, which in this province is about five rubles (10 s.) per dessiatine. Thus he obtained £1,715 on a capital of £700, or interest at the rate of about 250 per cent. a year!"

It should be understood that such cases of extortion as these are not exceptional. Stepniak says that there are exceptions, but the "exceptions present even a blacker picture." From the accounts which he gives of some of them we select a single one for its brevity, though it is by no means the worst. "In 1879, in the province of Oufa, the whole harvest was bought from the Bashkir peasants for a loan of twenty kopecks per *poud* (40 lbs.) made during the winter. The next autumn it was resold to these same Bashkirs for one ruble twenty kopecks (120 kopecks) per *poud*, making an interest of 500 per cent. for about eight months."

Now it is evident that to submit to such usurious interest as is usually demanded by the *koulaks* is certain ruin. Stepniak says that "even if by some extraordinarily good fortune the debtor is able to discharge his obligations during the next summer, in the autumn he will be likely to be worse off than he was the year before. He will have greater difficulty in defraying the taxes and providing for his own wants. Unless unusually good luck befalls him, he will be obliged during the winter to apply once more to the *koulak*, and probably for a larger advance. Very often he will have been unable to execute all the heavy obligations previously undertaken. Some arrears will still remain to be added, with accumulated interest, to his debt of work, a debt from which he can never escape." The peasants themselves know this perfectly well, and say that if a

man is once caught in this way, he must remain "in bondage" to the end of his days. But they are forced to it by the fear of the lash. That this is no imaginary terror, it is only necessary to state that in the winter of 1885-6, a tax inspector of Novgorod reported that in one district alone fifteen hundred peasants were condemned to be flogged for non-payment of taxes. So to-day there is no province in Russia where there are not whole villages, and even whole districts, where the bulk of the working strength of the peasants is pawned for years to come.

The space at our command will not allow us more than the briefest reference to still another of the causes which have hastened the ruin of the peasants. It is no uncommon thing for the local officials—the *stanovoi* and the *ispravniks*—to embezzle the money belonging to the *mirs*. Stepniak says that the illiterate peasants are quite defenceless against this form of robbery, and that the embezzlement of money belonging to them is practiced on a more extensive scale than in the higher walks of political life, "which are necessarily under better control." He says that "it not infrequently happens that the money which has been paid for taxes is abstracted, and the peasants are actually compelled to pay a second time. The sums sent by the *zemstvos* for the relief of the hungry are taken; the funds advanced for the purchase of seed corn are seized; the very corn which is stored in the communal granaries is stolen."

We also only simply refer to the vexatious interference in every commune of the *uriadniks* or rural constabulary. They constitute the new police force which was created in 1878. These men are "chiefly picked up from among the dregs of the government servants of the towns, and the outcasts of the intellectual professions; scribes out of employment; petty policemen turned out of their posts in the cities for bribery or drunkenness." These "vermin" "poke their noses into everything." "They can enter anybody's house at any time of the day or of the night, examine everything, and question anybody as to any actions and purposes which may seem to them suspicious. They

have the right of arresting and taking into custody any citizen of the district at their own discretion, without first obtaining any special warrant or authorization." Stepniak says that they have become "the scourge of the villages, the terror of the peasants, the chief perpetrators of such violence and extortion as had never been heard of before."

We have now stated some of the causes which have been working for the past twenty-five years in such a disastrous way to change the condition of the Russian peasantry and to involve them in ruin. The American people have been accustomed to think that it is only the educated class that suffers under the oppression of the government of the Czar. No one of the millions in this country who have read Mr. Kennan's recent Articles on Russia will ever cease to shudder at the barbarous treatment by the authorities of all persons who are even suspected of any liberal sentiments whatever. Now Professor Dragomanoff is as well acquainted with the condition of things in Russia as Mr. Kennan; yet he says deliberately, after the fullest recognition of all the wrongs and abuses "inflicted on educated Russia," that these wrongs and abuses are not to be compared with those which the dumb millions are suffering to-day. He says: "What an ocean of sorrow, tears, despair, and degradation is reflected in these dry figures, which prove that households have by hundreds of thousands been forced to sell by auction all their poor possessions; that millions of peasants who were at one time independent have been turned into *batracks*, driven from their homes, have had their families destroyed, their children sold into bondage, and their daughters given to prostitution; and untold numbers of full-grown, nay even gray-haired, respectable laborers have been flogged to extort taxes. Then think on these frightful figures of mortality—sixty-two per thousand in thirteen provinces! This means nothing less than that half a million a year are virtually dying of hunger, starved to death in a twelve-month, with the probability that before long the proportion will be doubled."

In order that these terrible facts may be better understood, we shall not hesitate to quote still further from the testimony of Professor Dragomanoff. He says: "In England, whenever

the death-rate rises to twenty-three per thousand, a medical and sanitary inquiry of the district is prescribed by law, this mortality being considered due to some preventable cause. It cannot be otherwise in Russia with a death-rate in thirteen of its central provinces of sixty-two per thousand. At a meeting of the Society of Russian Surgeons in 1885, it was expressly given as their opinion that this frightful mortality among the peasants is owing to a deficiency of food.

Professor Dragomanoff adds: "It is a very suggestive fact that Russia is the only country in the world possessing statistical records where the mortality is greater in the country than it is in the cities—the hygienic conditions of life and work in the open air being all in favor of the rural population. In England, for instance, the mortality is 38.8 per cent. higher in towns than in the country; in France, 24 per cent.; and in Sweden, 37 per cent. In Prussia, the difference is less than in any other part of Western Europe—7.1 per cent.; yet even there it is in favor of the villages. In Russia, there are fourteen provinces with a population as great as that of the Austrian Empire, and an area three times as large, in which the death-rate in the villages is higher than that of the towns. In the villages of the province of Moscow the mortality is 33.1 higher than in Moscow city; in the province of St. Petersburg, the difference is 17.5; in Kazan and Kieff, with more than 100,000 inhabitants each, the mortality is less by 37.30 per cent. than in the villages of their respective provinces. It is to be remembered, also, that the hygienic condition of these cities is wretched: more nearly allied to Asiatic than to European towns."

Another startling fact is that the official returns relating to recruits for the army, for the period from 1874 to 1887, published in 1886 by the Central Statistical Board, show that the number of able-bodied young men has decreased every year with appalling regularity. In 1874, when the law of universal military service was for the first time put in action, out of the total number of young people tested by the recruiting commissioners, 70.50 per cent. were accepted as able-bodied. The next year showed even a somewhat higher rate—71.50 per cent. of able-bodied men. But since that date the decrease has gone on

uninterruptedly. It was 69.4 in 1876. Then 69, 68.8, 67.8, 67.7, 65.8, 59.1, and finally in 1883, 59 per cent. This means a decrease of 12.50 per cent. in nine years in the number of able-bodied men among the flower of the nation—that is the youth of twenty years of age, of whom 85.25 per cent. come from the peasantry. These facts need no comment. There is only one explanation. Hunger and poverty have wrought fearful havoc among the rural population of Russia.

Here then is the new danger that threatens Russia. Russian patriots deplore the sad fate which has overtaken so many of their countrymen, but they tell us, with a frankness that is appalling, that the only hope that they now have for their country is that as the disintegration and ruin of the peasantry go on, as it seems sure that they will, the power of the hated dynasty which is on the throne will be so weakened that it will at last be itself involved in the ruin which it has brought on them.

Consider, Lord, the oppression of the oppressor,
The tyrant sitteth on his golden throne
In palaces of silver. To his gates
The meeting winds blow good from all the world.
Who hath undone the mountains where he locks
His treasure? In the armory of hell
Which engine is not his? His name infects
The air of every zone, and to each tongue
From Hecla to the Ganges adds a word
That kills all terms of pride. His servants sit
In empires round his empire; and outspread
As land beneath the water, Oh, my God,
His kingdoms bear the half of all thy stars!
Who hath out-told his princes? Who hath summed
His captains? From the number of his hosts
He should forget a nation, and not lack!

* * * * *

The captive straineth at the dungeon-grate.
Behold, oh Lord the secret of the rock,
The dungeon and the captive, and the chain!
Tho' it be hidden under the forest leaves,
Tho' it be on the mountains among clouds,
Tho' they point to it as a crag o' the hill,
And say concerning it that the wind waileth,
Thou knowest the inner secret and the sin!
I see his white face at the dungeon bars,

As snow between the bars of winter trees.
He sinketh down upon the dungeon stones,
His white face making light within the dungeon,
The clasped whiteness of his praying hands
Flickering a little light within the dungeon.
And thro' the darkness, thro' the cavern darkness,
Like to a runnel in a savage wood,
Sweet thro' the horror of the hollow dark
He sings the song of home in the strange land.
How long, oh Lord of Thunder?

As from afar we watch the progress of events, we cannot but repeat these words of the English poet from whom we have made this quotation: "How long, oh God of thunder?"

WILLIAM L. KINGSLEY.

ARTICLE II.—MODERN FRENCH AESTHETICS.*

It is the fashion now-a-days to praise everything German at the expense of everything French. Even French art suffers from depreciatory comparisons. If a college graduate would study abroad his instructors cry out in chorus: "Go to Berlin." So he goes; and returns to repeat the refrain: "Go to Berlin! Go to Berlin!"

Especially is the fashion strong in the matter of studies which fall under the general term "Moral and Mental Philosophy." Though the existence of an occasional atheistical, or free thinking, German erudite must be lamented; still all Frenchmen are, as is well known, shallow pated heathen, scatter-brained immoralists, or at best, but plausible hypocrites.

I am inclined to think that language has to do with this judgment. It is easier for the average Anglo-Saxon to acquire a useful, every-day knowledge of German than of French. It is very hard for him to twist his lips and twirl his tongue into the shapes and sizes required by French pronunciation. His nose, also, does not seem to possess the proper orifice for the essential nasal twang; while into German ordinary talk he slips with comparative ease. Moreover, German letters, with but few exceptions, have English sounds, and each letter holds its own in spelling even better than does its English equivalent.

Guizot, somewhere in his "History of Civilization," advances the pompous boast that no idea becomes universal till France has accepted it and France has passed it round to the rest of mankind. That is putting it somewhat broadly. But I will say, from my own experience, that after reading, or trying to read, German metaphysikers and aesthetikers for years, and after giving the whole thing up in blank despair, I have found rest, comfort, and delightful refreshment in French authors and in French translations of German authors.

Well do I remember the winter I concluded it to be my duty to read Hegel in the original German. Every morning, bright and

* Read at the September meeting of the Social Science Association.

early, I would go at it with grim determination. Yet long before noon, I was filled with sullen despair, and met by the awful question, was I or was I not a born idiot. By chance, I heard that there was in New York a German doctor of philosophy of the name of Brandt who knew all about æsthetics inside and out. I wrote to Brandt and finally arranged to meet him twice a week. Brandt was one of the most learned and delightful gentlemen I ever met; but our Hegel lessons were a sight to be seen. Inside of half an hour he would be striding up and down on one side of the long table which fortunately separated us, scattering chairs and most vigorously and emphatically insisting that the text meant so and so; while I, from my side, mildly protested that neither Hegel in the past, nor he, Brandt, in the present, had the faintest notion of the difference between sense and nonsense. When the fight was over for the day, and the angry clouds had rolled by, it took several "beers" to reconcile us, but we always parted the best of friends. I have a vague idea that I derived benefit from those discussions, though I could no more explain how than I could put a page of Hegel into simple English. Poor Brandt is dead. No instructor ever lived who left in the hearts of his pupils more tender and affectionate remembrance.

Some years ago a Frenchman of the name of Bénard conceived it to be his duty to give the French people a translation of Hegel, or rather of Hegel's lectures on æsthetics as "*herausgegeben*" by one of his pupils named Hotho. Hegel himself left nothing in writing but his illegible notes; and among those who listened to his lectures there were about as many views as to what he had said, or had meant to say, as there were listeners. Still Hotho was finally accepted as having had the best and the most attentive, if not the longest, ears.

Bénard's translation is delightful. Any child can understand it. He starts out with the amiable confession that he does not intend to translate literally; for the simple reason, he states, that an author's first duty to himself as well as to his readers is to write things readable. And then he goes on putting into perfectly clear and very excellent French the ideas which if Hegel did not have he at least, according to Bénard, ought to have had. So far as I can make myself acquainted with the

original, Bénard's translation is sufficiently full and accurate and is highly to be recommended.

To draw nearer to the text, what is *æsthetics*? There is a great deal of pedantry in the world. Among other ways, it shows itself in the forming of mystifying words intended to overawe and inspire a frightened deference. In the manufacture of such words the Germans excel. The German erudite who trots out a word longer and more incomprehensible than anything as yet produced by his neighbors shines among them, *ut inter ignes minores Luna*, till his word has been beaten.

Equally well do German wise men like very long, very intricate, and very confused, sentences. To Overbeck, Professor of the History of the Fine Arts at the University of Leipzig, a sentence a page long is a trifle. It may contain a dozen separate parts, and ten dozen conflicting ideas. That doesn't matter. It is the weight of the sentence that adds reputation to the writer. Overbeck has dozens of such sentences to prove the inferiority of the Venus of Milo, terminating with the confession that he had never seen the statue. That's "echt Deutsch."

All through life there are words ahead of us that frighten until we come to know for what they stand and become familiar with the subject matter they name. I can remember as if it were yesterday, though it occurred forty odd years ago and I could not have been more than five or six, the effect produced on my small brain by meeting the word "sphere." The very first sentence in the geography we were about studying was: "The world is a sphere." The word "sphere" conveyed no notion to me, nor could I for some reason possibly remember it. I would read it over and over, but each time when asked the question: "What is the world?" I broke down on "sphere." The teacher was determined and I can't remember when I suffered greater mental distress. Finally, seeing and understanding my misery, and fearing the consequences, the teacher let up on "sphere" and my sanity was preserved.

Algebra was a terrifying word. Logarithms was worse. And when at college we saw looming ahead of us such terms as Metaphysics and Psychology, we thought we were entering unknown regions where previous information and experience would be of no avail. Why Algebra, an Arabic compound,

“al gabr,” meaning a binding together, should be used as a term to indicate the use of letters in mathematical inquiries, is pure pedantry. The German term is *Buchstabenrechenkunst*; an awful word, but one which can be decomposed into words which convey the sense.

Æsthetics has not only a pedantic sound, but conveys the idea of an assumption of superior refinement and of the possession of more delicate organs for the detection and enjoyment of the beautiful. It is bad enough for a man to display superior knowledge, but to have him in addition claim to be a creature of finer and more etherial fibre is intolerable. *Æsthetics* has this prejudice against it. The only way to offset it is by the consolation that often those who know the most are those who have the least power to enjoy what they know, and vice-versa. It is not always the best fiddler who is the best teacher of the fiddle.

Turning to Webster's dictionary, you will find that the word *æsthetics* is derived from the Greek *Αἰσθητικός*. Getting down your Liddell & Scott, you will find that *Αἰσθητικός* is derived from *Αἰσθάνομαι* to perceive, to apprehend, or notice, by the senses, and that *Αἰσθάνομαι* comes from the root *Αἰω*, which also means to perceive but in a more general way. *Æsthetics* therefore, properly and literally, means the science of perceptions, though it has come to mean the science of the beautiful.

From the Greek origin of the term one might suppose that the science dated back to the time of the Greeks, and much fine writing has been written to prove that Plato, Aristotle, and Xenophon were *æsthetikers* in the modern sense of the word. Aristotle, it is asserted, wrote a treatise on the “Beautiful.” I have found nothing in the writings of Plato, Aristotle, or Xenophon to justify the claims made for them. In Plato's expositions, beauty occupies a very subordinate position. Goodness and truth are the elements of his divinity. Plato teaches that truth is beautiful, and that goodness is more beautiful than truth: but beauty is not regarded as an entity, only as a quality. Nor is beauty alluded to but subordinately, here and there a sentence.

If Aristotle were alive to-day, he would be a materialist. His philosophy admitted, the existence of a divinity who, however,

had nothing to do with this world; who could not have anything to do with it without loss of dignity and honor. In reference to the beautiful, there is but one paragraph in Aristotle so far as I know which is explicit. This occurs in his work called "*Metaphysics*," and is as follows: "Since the good and the beautiful are two different things (for goodness appears in acts while beauty may reside even in things which have no motion) it is wrong to claim that mathematical sciences have nothing to do with the good and the beautiful. On the contrary, they can speak of them better and more clearly than any other of the sciences. For the essential forms of beauty are order, symmetry, and a determinate object, and these are precisely the principal objects of mathematical enquiry;" and then he adds, "But we will write more expressly of this subject hereafter." Whether he did or not nobody knows.

The Greeks were not fond of abstractions or of introspection. Their imagination was illimitable and carried them boundlessly: but in their philosophical writings there is a charming youthfulness to be sure but immaturity and superficial speculation. The form in which such notions occur is generally the dialogue, a form in itself apologetic and tentative. In art the Greek was filled with creative genius. He created without knowing or caring to know the nature of the power which inspired him.

Passing rapidly down through history, the next names to arrest attention are Plotinus and Augustine. Plotin, or Plotinus, was the great philosopher of the late Roman period. He was born in Africa in the year 205; was educated at Alexandria and died rich and renowned in Rome in 270. Now-a-days he would be called a spiritualist and a medium. He made all the claims, played all the pranks, and had all the diseases, of a first class modern spiritualistic crank. But with it all he was eloquent; many of his ideas were profound and beautiful, and he had conspicuously the profitable faculty of making friends. He wrote a book about beauty to show that material beauty is but the reflex of intellectual and moral beauty and that the beauty of the soul is part of the universal beauty of divinity. But his ideas are so permeated with spiritualism and pantheism that it is hard to separate the wheat from the chaff.

Saint Augustine, who lived about 150 years after Plotinus, mentions in his Confessions (iv. 13) that he had written several books on beauty and convenience, but that he could not remember how many, nor the contents. That a man could have written books in such numbers that half a dozen or so might entirely disappear without exciting even his own attention is an example of prolificness without parallel in the history of literature. From sentences and paragraphs in the preserved works of Augustine it appears that he accepted the doctrines of Plotinus so far as they could be reconciled with Christianity and that he attempted to purify and elevate them. With Augustine, God is the source and author of all beauty, and in order to approximate to an understanding of his character we must study His beauty as well as His goodness and His truth. In Augustine first begin to appear the principles which should govern in all studies of the Beautiful. The rapid review I am making permits but little more than an enumeration of authors and an indication of sources of information. Augustine was one of the last and one of the greatest writers of antiquity. After him came down from the North barbaric storms of invasion destroying civilization and enveloping learning for centuries in the darkness of the middle ages. When the black clouds roll away disclosing man anew to history as civilized and inquisitive he must first examine the world about him before turning his thoughts within. Physics precedes philosophy. Even in the arts, the creative faculty is long active before the reflective faculty awakens. The 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries created Gothic architecture, and Dante and Chaucer cry out that the night is over and that singing time has come again. The 16th and 17th centuries are the centuries of the Renaissance when classic learning floods Europe with new desires, and artists spring up to satisfy them as flowers spring up after refreshing rains.

It was not until the last century that art activities resting for a while men had time to think about beauty and art and to speculate what these things might really be. They began to ask and answer questions. Now that by physical investigations we have grown wise in methods of thinking, let us apply our wisdom to the things which give us so much pleasure. What

is their nature, their essence, their origin? What is the character of the pleasure they give? Is it to be commended or reprehended? And if good, can it be purified, cultivated, and increased?

Very singularly about the first man to come forward with his speculations—for speculation must precede theory—was a Scotchman. Of all spots on the world's surface Scotland of the 17th century is the last anyone would select for the production of a work on the Beautiful. And yet, here it is: "An Inquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue by Francis Hutcheson;" of which the first edition was printed in 1725, and was of course dedicated to a "lord." Another fact to be signalized is that Hutcheson was the son of a dissenting clergyman. I have no time to enter into any criticism of the book. It is quaint, attractive, genial, kind, very youthful and quite odd. About the same time, a French Jesuit priest of the name of André, a professor of mathematics in the little town of Caen in Normandy, where William the Conqueror was buried and where famous tripe is now prepared, published an essay on the Beautiful which is delightful reading. André's thoughts are pleasant, his notions plausible, his composition logical and his diction most graceful. He carries you along with perfect ease and comfort without a jog or a jar of pedantry or vagueness.

When you have read these two, then you may be prepared for the thorn bushes and the bottomless bogs of one Baumgarten, a German of Leipsig, to whom, in spite of himself, belongs the credit of setting up the study of the Beautiful on a pedestal of its own, and of grouping studies of the Beautiful and the Sublime, whether in nature or in art, under the one generic term *aesthetics*. Baumgarten was a pundit of the pundits and wrote in a barbarous Latin of which he was undoubtedly proud. Still, from his work must be traced the diverging lines which to-day include the entire subject. As stated in a former paper, Wolf, Baumgarten's master, declared that the object of metaphysical studies was the perfecting of knowledge: that knowledge was either the product of thought or the result of observation; and that as logic could only occupy itself with the higher or thought knowledge, there was needed another and

inferior science to occupy itself with the knowledge furnished by observation through the senses: that is, a science of sensation. Baumgarten docilely devoted himself to the task, little dreaming of the questions which would be started, or of the learning which would be evoked in attack and defence.

Here let me interrupt, for a moment, the catalogueing and give in a word the essence of all subsequent controversies. Here it is: Is beauty a mere sensation produced we don't know how upon some unknown part of ourselves, thus being entirely subjective and without foundation or stability; or is it something that has independent existence apart from our tastes, our fancies, or the dictates of fashion? That is: is it a real thing to be known, studied, and enjoyed of all men independently of personal peculiarities and prejudices, or of changing circumstances? Certainly a most attractive question.

After laboring through a few pages of Baumgarten's Latin you will be as willing as I was to shut the book and accept the judgment of those who have had the patience to read it. A course not to be commended but at times unavoidable.

Baumgarten's chief service was in turning thought into the study of æsthetics and in showing how the study could be logically planned and logically carried out. It frequently happens that man has the capacity to do a certain thing if he only be shown how to set about it. Baumgarten showed how the thing could be done. Whether he did it rightly or wrongly is another matter. He mapped the subject out. And though his processes may not have been followed by those who came after they certainly suggested the processes which were followed.

Next in chronological order comes Reid, another Scotchman, born at Aberdeen in 1710; died at Glasgow in 1796. Reid is too well-known to need an introduction. He only considers beauty briefly and incidentally, but he advances valuable ideas. Taste, according to Reid, is the faculty by which we perceive and feel the beauties of nature and the excellencies of works of art. Why the two words, "perceive," and "feel," he asks. "Because we not only perceive what is beautiful but in affirming it to be beautiful we pass judgment. Every affirmation is a judgment. We can only judge things that are real. We

must, therefore, be convinced that beauty is a real quality of things." In another part of his remarks about taste, he adds: "Those who maintain that there is nothing absolute in matters of taste, and that the proverb, "There is no disputing about tastes," is of universal application; take a position that is intolerable. By similar reasoning it might be proved that there is nothing absolute in truth."

Great pity that Reid thought but little of beauty. If he had expanded and concluded his thoughts he might have left irrefutable arguments on the objective side of the question; for his words show that he had perceived the central and governing truth.

Reid had a great admirer in Jouffroy, a French philosopher who died but forty odd years ago leaving behind psychological writings which for beauty of language, clearness and elevation of thought, are worthy to be studied in every school of philosophy. Jouffroy translated all of Reid's writings into his own elegant French. The French are proverbially poor linguists. But whenever a good thing is written in any language it is sure to appear before long in French and often much improved by the translation.

Incomparably the greatest of all German æsthetikers is Kant. The more I read his writings or rather try to read them, the better I understand his thought; or rather the more I try to understand them, to measure their depth and to estimate their richness, the more profound is my admiration. I know no writer, ancient or modern, who takes one so far into the secret recesses of the human intellect, who seems to come so near to the ultimate cause of human intellectual life. There is more to be learned in trying to understand Kant than in fully understanding dozens of other writers. Kant's "Criticism of Pure Reason" is known to English readers through Max Muller's and other translations; but his "Criticism of the Judgment," including his æsthetical writings, has not been translated into English.

Last autumn, in foolish self-sufficiency, I determined to fill the gap. After working a fortnight to put the first page of the introduction into English which would not be regarded as a passport to the nearest lunatic asylum, I paused and am still

pausing. Most happily I learned but a short time ago that there was a French translation of the work and also a critical explanation by the translator. I have them both, and am beginning to see daylight. To my satisfaction I found in the translator's introduction a statement that Kant's introduction could not possibly be understood until the whole work had been studied; and that it ought to have been the peroration, and not the exordium. So I am reading the book backwards and sometimes think I might as well read it upside down. Kant, after years of detraction, is now properly appreciated. Denounced as an atheist and an infidel, his writings are now expounded in most orthodox institutions as showing forth the best methods of reasoning, which, if followed out—and which he must inevitably have followed out himself if his life had been prolonged—furnish logical and scientific foundation for Christian doctrines. Kant, at the outset, is purely subjective. The ego and its concepts are everything. But, little by little, by the force and purity of his own subjective reasoning, his concepts grow dim, and their place is taken by an objective God, shining forth with attributes of goodness, truth, and beauty.

After Kant, comes Schelling, a rhapsodist. According to Schelling beauty is the positive and active force which makes real divine wisdom in each individual in accordance with the peculiarities of each individual. Perfect beauty is in perfect accord with divinity. In beauty is the union of the human and the Divine. Perfect beauty is the full expression of the Divine. Things that are not beautiful show interrupted and imperfect expression of creative power, etc. Schelling is to be enjoyed as is Ruskin, but neither must be taken as a guide in establishing principles.

Then came Hegel, already mentioned, whose philosophy, after satisfying German thinkers for years, has been about abandoned. Still many of Hegel's observations, especially those relating to the fine arts, are so true and so beautiful that they cannot become obsolete.

From Hegel's time on, the number of German "æsthetikers" is legion. They all write interminably. Carrière of Munich, in spite of his French name, has published seven volumes;

Vischer, six, and so on. Concision is not appreciated in Germany. When an author has published a work of reasonable length he immediately sets about rewriting it in double, triple, or quadruple, length; or he adds unending volumes to the original ones. Schnaase started to write a History of the Fine Arts in three volumes. Before natural laws put a stop to his effusiveness he had written eight. Another odd German trait is that when an author is making good running, others take pride in helping him along with odd volumes which he accepts and puts into the series as his own. Overbeck of Leipsig, already mentioned, about twenty years ago published a history of Greek sculpture in one volume quarto of about five hundred pages; big enough in all conscience. Now he is re-publishing the thing; has already issued four enormous volumes with huge atlases of plates; and as he is still full of running there is no possible telling when he will run himself out. No one can read such masses of stuff in course. Such works can only be regarded encyclopediacally. But as Germans despise indexes, even as books of reference, their use is trying to patience.

But Modern French Æsthetics is the theme, and it is about time for reference to the text. The French are a practical people. They believe in methods, in order, and in systems; and that too in matters which other nations leave, I won't say to chance, but to take care of themselves, which is about the same thing. In matters of art, the French thoroughly believe in standards. Everybody has heard of the great exhibition of works of art which takes place every spring in Paris. At that exhibition, competition is the rule. Medals are decreed, first, second, and third class medals, and a jury is appointed to confer them in accordance with relative excellence. Every exhibitor votes for the jury, and the jury thus chosen constitutes the standard for the year by which all the works of art exhibited are to be judged. The system is not perfect; no human system can be. The standard is not invariable; no standard should be. But the process is far better than one without system, without standard. It is this process which, in my opinion, has much to do with putting the Paris exhibition so far ahead of all others. We might well adopt it in this country. Instead we follow English notions and as a result

our painters and sculptors are about as poor a lot as the English. In France, art is recognized as dependent on the intellectual faculties. Neither in this country nor in England is the recognition full or clear.

There is in France an institution called the "Academy of Moral and Political Sciences." It is a great honor to belong to it, as membership is limited to those who have distinguished themselves in science, in art, or in literature. The Academy is rich, has large funds from which it decrees prizes. When it wants a work on any particular subject it offers a prize for the best one. The prize is large. The money value and the honor create sufficient stimulus.

In 1858, the Academy, recognizing that the problems of æsthetics had not as yet been clearly and fully worked out, announced a prize for a work on the subject and gave the following directions for competitors :

"Inquire what are the principles of the science of the Beautiful ; verify them by applying them to the most obvious beauties of nature, poetry, and the arts, as well as by a critical examination of the most celebrated systems to which the science of the Beautiful has given birth ; both in antiquity and more especially in modern times."

Rather cumbrously worded directions ; but Barthélemy Saint Hillaire, who was president of the Academy at the time, and probably did the wording, is for a Frenchman heavy in language.

Five essays were submitted. Two were too short and evidently too hastily prepared to merit attention. The others were fully discussed in the report of the committee selected to award the prize and though of course but one was chosen the two others were most highly commended. The prize was taken by Charles Levêque, a member of the Institute, a professor in the College of France founded by Francis I., and a person already distinguished as a philosophical writer. His competitors were, Paul Voituron, a lawyer of Ghent in Belgium ; and M. Chaigney, professor in the military school at La Flèche, near the river Loire, and not very far from Tours.

These three essays have been reviewed and published ; and certainly two of them are the best published works extant with

which to commence a study of the subject. They are full, clear, to the point, admirably ordered. Of course they contain some things which can only be understood by a species of metaphysical intuition. This is a necessary result of the nature of the subject. In examining the workings of the mind, you have only your own mind with which to conduct the examination. You have no superior point outside of yourself from which to survey yourself. While endeavoring to examine the permanent essence of mind, you may be only surveying its passing phenomena. Still, if under similar circumstances, similar phenomena present themselves, laws may in time be deduced, certainly to the extent that if preliminary introspection do not expose the expected phenomena it may be concluded that the introspection has not been correctly directed.

Of the three works, that by Levêque is the most psychological. Chapters are devoted to the effect of the beautiful on human intelligence, sensibility, and activity. Levêque's introspection is clear and self-reliant. He is somewhat rhapsodical and reminds one a little of Schelling. Voituren is the most logical. His divisions of the subject seem to me the best and are the most comprehensive. His logic is terse and conclusive. He is no rhapsodist and perhaps discusses with too little fervor. His brain is active but not fervid. He analyses faultlessly. His introspection is dull and he has sense enough to know it. Chaigney is a pupil of St. Augustine and an obedient son of the church. The three present the subject from the three points, sentiment, thought, orthodoxy. Personal preference may select without risk of mistake.

Having led you up to the very portals of modern French aesthetics and opened the door it is for you to decide whether you will go in or not.

To properly review the three writers would require all the hours of the Association's "*olla podrida*." I may hardly give you more than one of the author's divisions of the subject, and that simply to make more clear the character of aesthetics and the extent of the topics it embraces. For this purpose Voituren's divisions are the best, for they are the clearest and the most logical. Voituren's work is in two volumes quarto of about four hundred pages each. The first volume contains five

chapters and is devoted to the consideration of beauty in general. The second, of three chapters, is devoted to the various manifestations of beauty, beauty in nature, beauty in art, intellectual and moral beauty.

The chapters of the first book are :

1st. Of the Science of the Beautiful, in which the writer propounds and discusses the point whether a Science of the Beautiful be, or be not, possible ; concludes that it is possible, and that it forms a part of general philosophy.

2d. Determination of the character of the Beautiful and the Sublime ; in which he considers the various essential characteristics of the Beautiful and the Sublime, derived from observing and comparing beautiful and sublime objects.

3d. Metaphysics of the Beautiful and the Sublime ; in which he analyses the various theories held about the relations existing between the good, the true, and the beautiful. This is one of the most interesting chapters in the work and the one which met with the highest praise from the Academy's committee.

4th. Of the different species of the Beautiful and the Sublime. That is, for instance, the difference between active and passive beauty ; the difference between the beauty of an act and the beauty of a thought. Real beauty as distinguished from ideal beauty and the subdivision of beauty into grace, agreeableness, rhythm, and even mirth.

5th. Of the Sentiment of the Beautiful and the Sublime. By sentiment of the Beautiful is meant taste and the laws which govern its exercise.

The chapters of the second book are : 1st. Of Moral and Intellectual Beauty. 2d. Of Beauty in nature ; and 3d. Of Beauty in art. This is the longest chapter and is divided into eight sections : General Theory of the Fine Arts, Landscape-gardening, Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Music, Poetry, and Eloquence. In these valuable sections are explained the principles which govern in each art, and which must be understood by artist and critic alike, that the one may not squander his talents, and that the other may enjoy understandingly and be able to explain his enjoyment. The extent and importance of aesthetics are seen in these divisions.

At the outset, Voitureur propounds a rational foundation for the Science of the Beautiful as follows: "Differences of opinion may well exist as to what is beautiful in nature, in man, and in society; and so far it may well be said that there is no disputing about taste. But there can be no difference of opinion as to what beauty is, or as to the idea held of it when it is affirmed that an object is beautiful. Otherwise there would be no mutual understanding on the subject. If there were no idea of the Beautiful, by what rule is it that an object is adjudged to be beautiful, and how could the opinion be conveyed from one to another that an object is beautiful? In so doing, one is not giving expression to an individual sensation or sentiment, but is expressing a judgment which imposes itself upon the reason of all, modified, of course, by those differences of degree which result from individual sentiment. This judgment in principle has equal value with other judgments. An object is called beautiful by the same right that an action is said to be just or a proposition is stated to be true. It follows therefore, of necessity, that there must be an abstract notion of the Beautiful and that it must belong to all, just as all possess abstract notions of truth and justice."

That is clear and conclusive and in accordance with the experience of every-day life. If I say to my companion, I have seen a beautiful landscape, or a beautiful work of art, the idea is understood even though he, on subsequent examination, may not agree with me. If he say: "I do not think so," he must further explain by stating: "I do not think it is beautiful;" showing that the intellectual idea of beauty exists in each of us though the same objects may not at the time satisfy it.

I am inclined to hazard the statement that there is still wanting a proper classification of sensations. The sensations accompanying being frightened out of one's wits can hardly be considered intellectually, nor that of being ducked, or of being chilled, or of being "perfectly roasted," as the Vassar girl would say. It would be hardly possible to reason one into the enjoyment of a fright or a ducking. But it is of every-day occurrence that folks come to like things they at first disliked; things to eat; things to wear; things to listen to; things to look at. I don't mean under the last two heads, symphonies or

pictures, but simple things; simple tones and simple colors. Such changes from disliking to liking, or the other way, must proceed from the intellect and therefore be under scientific law. You can teach an Englishman to enjoy terrapin and a Yankee to appreciate sour French wine. Yet all such changes philosophers are wont to attribute to accident, or they consider them unworthy of any consideration at all.

Voituron discusses at length the question which act precedes in the presence of a beautiful object; the act of the intellect proclaiming its beauty, or the passive enjoyment of its beauty. He quotes from Cousin in confirmation of his views, and as I have not yet spoken of Cousin, permit the quotation taken from his work on Real and Ideal Beauty.

"I suppose a person in the presence of a beautiful object. What takes place in the soul of the person at the view of the object? He pronounces a judgment by which he declares that the thing before him is beautiful; that is, that it conforms to a rule called the Beautiful. In perceiving beauty, man also feels it. It causes him a delicious impression of pleasure to which follows love for the object in which beauty resides. There is, therefore, on one side a judgment which has its particular characteristics and on the other side a sentiment which embraces within itself a special order of the phenomena of the sensibility. These are the two things which psychology recognizes in the human soul the moment it is placed in the presence of a beautiful object. One cannot be absorbed in the other. They belong to two very distinct spheres—the rational sphere and the sensible sphere. Nor can their order of succession be changed. We do not commence by feeling the beautiful but by judging it."

From this Voituron concludes that as the perception of the Beautiful and the judgment passed upon it precede in some mysterious way, yet logically and actually, the sentiment of the Beautiful, the study of the Beautiful must commence with the study of that which precedes the sentiment it produces; that is, with the preceding judgment and with the innate notion or idea of the Beautiful which makes possible and excites the judgment. This innate notion he regards as part of the Divine and absolute beauty shining into the human soul.

In his second chapter he speaks of the elements of beauty.

Here most writers are of accord. Order, variety, harmony, and intent are necessities of beauty. Not that all things possessing these qualities are necessarily beautiful, but in their absence no beauty can exist. Disorder, monotony, discord, and accident are all ugly. The intent is the vital element without which beauty can have no force; no connection with the infinite. If beauty be divine force in action, then the more excellent the beauty, the more clear the evidence and the representation of the force. To "God is love," must be added, "God is beauty."

When the Westminster divines set about defining the Almighty, they entirely ignored the principle of beauty. "Wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness, and truth" are their attributes. Beauty is shut out and seems to be shut out from the minds of many of those who swear by the Westminster catechism.

In the chapter relating to the metaphysics of the Beautiful Vioturon discusses very admirably what beauty is and tries to formulate an intelligible definition. But language is weak. In definitions each word of the definition needs a definition of its own. I could not give a brief summary of the chapter which would be valuable or interesting. Here I must stop my brief and very superficial review; for the sands of my hour are beginning to run out. If you be at all interested in beauty, let me most heartily recommend the careful perusal of the three authors.

In conclusion, let me give a few answers to the question: "Of what practical value are æsthetical studies?"

I answer in the first place that if beauty be an element of Divinity, then beauty should be studied and practiced, just as we study and practice goodness, justice, mercy, love, and the other attributes enumerated by the Westminster catechism. How the compilers of that wonderful production came to leave out beauty while enumerating the attributes of Divinity is extraordinary; since beauty is all through the Bible made prominent in connection with holiness, with righteousness, and with the goings and comings of the Lord. If beauty be of Divine origin,—and who can doubt it?—then there rests upon us the same obligation to keep the idea clear and pure that there is with regard to our notions of goodness and truth; and

the same care and guidance are necessary in reference to one of the notions as to either of the others.

If any one of the three notions be not absolute but be left to education and discipline for proper development in the soul, so with the others. The ordinary acceptation is that it is a very simple matter to be truthful. In fact, it is at times very difficult to tell what the truth may be. Truth is comparative and exists with different degrees of clearness and force in different minds as they have been trained in detecting and estimating it. It is only the germs of these notions that exist by nature in the soul.

The object of legal training is to assist in the discovery of truth. Law is to establish truth. The Supreme Court of the United States is regarded as the highest, best, and purest judicial body, yet, with given facts, there is often in its decisions dissent, rarely unanimity, in the declaration and application of truth.

So with goodness. All the hospitals, all the criminal courts, and all the labor bureaus in the country are efforts to find out goodness and to put it into action. So all artists and art critics are endeavoring to establish beauty. And these three bodies are working together for the glory of God and the good of mankind.

On a lower plane, perhaps, though intimately related, comes the refined and pure enjoyment to be derived from the study and contact of the beautiful. Here the Fine Arts are factors. No living being can fail to be benefited by contact with art. No child should be allowed to grow up without being put into practical contact with some phase of art. Even a jews-harp may awaken the echoes of Divine sound; and a few water-colors in a ten cent box may lead to a clear apprehension, and delightful enjoyment, of color. Every living being should be taught to sing. An artistic hobby will make bright moments of rest from labor and will save the idle from giving time to evil. Hear what Levèque, the prize man, says on this point. His language is clear. The passage shows the quality of his introspection.

"The pleasure caused by a beautiful object is an elevated pleasure. It excites exclusively the noble qualities of the soul.

While the soul experiences it, the soul has no regard for the low and the vile; and if the soul make a constant habit of this pleasure, it becomes disgusted with low pleasures and entirely free from their attractions. In the second place, the pleasure afforded by the beautiful is complete. The whole soul is satisfied with it. While it dilates the heart, reason approves and conscience commends. Again; this pleasure is deep. It does not skim the surface of the soul as do the pleasures of the senses; but penetrates into it, establishes itself, and from time to time, excited by recollections, pours out anew fresh and abundant joy. Therefore, the pleasure of the beautiful is elevated, complete, and profound. In one word, it is grand.

On the other hand, the affection I feel for the beauty which has touched me is also elevated. It is not selfish nor gross; but disinterested, respectful, and like in character to religious devotion. The affection moreover is complete and entire because the soul does not begrudge it, and because in any object altogether beautiful there is no part the soul does not love. Finally, the love devoted to a beautiful object does not fade away like a fugitive sensation. As it has established itself in the most secret parts of the soul, it stays there: takes root, and becomes solid and durable. Solidity and durability are the two essential characteristics of every profound sentiment. The love of the beautiful is, therefore, elevated, complete and profound. In one word, its first characteristic, like the first characteristic of æsthetic pleasure, is grandeur."

The third and last point is the claim of everyday life on æsthetics. A point is of such vast and practical importance that it may only be mentioned at this time. The sense of beauty is universal. The manifestation of this sense is universal. There is not a lassie in the country who will not enforce her beauty with a ribbon or a frill. But she must know what ribbon to select and how to make the frill. Every country bumpkin will put under his chin on Sunday a flaming bow knot two feet long to attract the aforesaid lassie. Let him be taught to tone it down to the requirements of true art, and the lassie will be attracted. Nor will they both fail to be edified by the dominie if he in turn have pursued seriously and follows conscien-

tiously such a work as Prof. Hoppin's "Homiletics"; and if his garb as well as his conduct be strictly ministerial.

We may not be able to go as far as dear old Hutcheson and discover more beauty in a square than in a triangle, and more in a pentagon than in a square; but to feel harmony and discord in lines is no difficult attainment: while the laws of the contrasts of complemental colors are so plain and so universal in their application that all may learn them and profit by them. The man who would look his best will be housed his best; and then will behave his best and will help others to do likewise. If harmony be a fundamental principle of beauty, let harmony prevail. Don't build barns like churches; churches like jails; nor jails like comfortable hotels. Don't try to appear young when you are old. Let dress and conduct show forth individual character and circumstances truthfully, strongly, and gracefully.

I presumed that the time and the circumstances would neither call for any solemn or serious exposition of principles, nor permit detail. Nor can a paper written at idle moments during a summer's vacation, with only a peep now and then at one's library, contain things the writer would care to swear by.

I have not spoken of Taine, of Sutter, of Caborit, or of many other brilliant lights of modern French æsthetics. It must suffice if I have called attention to the existence of the subject. So far as I know there is not a chair of æsthetics in this country; nor do I know where at home one would go for full information. Existing information must be superficial for it is only by teaching that a subject is mastered. But if the attention of scholars could be once attracted to a consideration of the importance and far-reaching value of this philosophy, I do not doubt that we in this country are in a moral and mental condition to formulate and apply an æsthetics more complete and more practical than any the schools have as yet produced.

D. CADY EATON.

ARTICLE III.—ARCHITECTURE IN AMERICA: ITS
MENTAL AND MATERIAL CIRCUMSTANCES.

I.

IN the broad progressive movement of our day there is an element not well understood, and therefore not sufficiently appreciated, although it has grown and taken direction simultaneously with the development of the useful and fine arts of our civilization. This particular element manifests itself in our midst in various degrees of success, but it is not recognized, in manner or degree, as other elements of our higher progress are recognized. Judging from the literature, the rostrum, and the stage of the day; and judging from our every day conversation which, after all, is the most trustworthy gauge of average thought and taste, Painting, Sculpture, Music, the Drama, and Belles-Lettres excite in us an interest bordering on enthusiasm, while Architecture, as a comprehensive art, slowly appeals to our mind.

The daily press which, with us in particular, is the medium of familiarizing the people with the manifold influences, methods and forms of human activities seems to make an exception of Architecture. We have technically architectural periodicals which, as organs of judgment, exponents of principles and methods, and general guides of the profession to which they are devoted, are a national credit. These periodicals cannot, however, be taken as a measure of public knowledge or appreciation of the subject of which they particularly treat; for, in their technical character they are organs of a profession and not exponents of popular thought and taste. If we turn to the general press for the amount and quality of interest in our subject, we find that our newspaper does not notice the work of the architect in the complete and often masterly manner in which it notices that of the painter, sculptor, writer, or actor.

The newspaper notices a projected or completed building in an incomplete and rather crude description of its material aspect, or in a detailed statement of its commercial value;

whereas it reviews a painting, a statue, a play, a concert, or a book critically and exhaustively in all its aspects. Moreover, the newspaper seldom, if ever, mentions the name of the architect, but seldom fails to give the name of the contractor; while it invariably gives the name of the painter or sculptor, as it invariably omits the name of the maker of the canvas, colors, and frame, or the name of the man that quarries the statuary marble. And, a leading metropolitan journal, referring to an exhibition held under the auspices of an architectural society, tells us that: " In itself a collection of architectural drawings is unlikely to attract general attention, but the present exhibition contains a gallery full of examples of decorative art, with paintings, black and white and stained glass, to say nothing of the water-colors and pen and ink drawings"; thus making the main object of the exhibition a secondary consideration, and conditional to the supplementary show at that. In short, the newspaper merely chronicles the architect's work, and critically reviews the painter's, sculptor's, or writer's. It places the former's in the catalogue of material growth without due reference to the mind that underlies it; and places the latter's in the nation's spiritual sphere without losing sight of its material influences.

It is remarkable that in this country where the architect's work appears, and perhaps is, more varied and extensive than in any other land, the art of building should be popularly so much less known, in its principles, methods, and beauty, than the other arts; and that it should be almost ignored in its relations to temperament and thought, feeling, and habit. There is certainly a reason for this lack of appreciation of Architecture on one hand, and popular sympathy for the arts in general on the other. To broadly point out the cause, or causes, of such a phenomenon is the aim of the following notes.

II.

It is one of the commonplaces of criticism to explain or excuse our shortcomings on the plea of our nation's youth. Our national youth is certainly a circumstance to be taken into account in a critical survey of our intellectual and artistic state, but care should be taken not to accept it as too extenuating a

circumstance in the case. Our people are at once the descendants of an old civilized race and members of a recent civil organization in new surroundings. They are old anthropologically and young anthropographically. It is in the latter sense chiefly that they may be considered young with reference to our subject.

In our collective labors to control and transform natural surroundings and influences in order to establish harmony between our inner and outer conditions there is involved a mental process the archetype of which is found in the individual. As the individual develops under complex conditions of thought and environment, so grows the nation under similar, but broader, conditions of mind and matter. The individual and social bodies move along parallel lines of development, but in their general movement there are secondary movements of unlike velocities. The growth of sense involved in the opening up of material resources, the motive of which is the satisfaction of physical wants, moves more rapidly than the growth of thought involved in the development of culture, the motive of which is the satisfaction of spiritual wants. Thus, as the social organism grows from the simple to the complex in the development of its material interests, so does the social mind in the rise and solution of intellectual needs and problems. To epitomize this synthetic scheme of development let us say that, grasping at first broad and simple phenomena both in the world of matter and thought, the human understanding gradually analyses those phenomena until it is led, by an uninterrupted series of antecedents and consequents, to contemplate a vast combination and correlation of facts in a sublime universal sequence.

It is by such a theory of intellectual development that the comparatively slow manner in which the people acquire a nice and delicate perception of art, and of Architecture in particular, may be accounted for.

Looking at a mass of materials embodying an architectural conception we readily experience a sense-impression such as mere magnitude awakes in our consciousness. To truly appreciate that mass of materials in its significance as an architectural expression our analytic faculty must come into play. Architecture is a subject so many-sided, so complex and so variable

that to understand it with intellectual and emotional enjoyment requires a high degree of mental development which, in the nature of human circumstances, is found but in the few. It is easier, because more natural, for the average mind to comprehend a simpler and more circumspect subject; hence, the popular appreciation, at least the popular disposition to turn appreciatively to Painting, Sculpture, Music, Drama, and Literature more readily than to Architecture. Let us say here that we are not to be understood by such a statement that we are disposed to assign to Architecture a place in the world of thought and feeling higher than that which we assign to any other art. In our highest appreciation of the various expressions of genius—in the very moment that we apprehend the inspiration which imparts to the work before us that something which so mysteriously touches within us a chord whose vibration is a response to the sentiment which the work symbolizes—all art is great and ennobling. In their essential functions the arts are one and the same. Their mission is to elevate the mind and solace the senses through the idealization of life.

III.

The efficacious revelation of artistic inspiration is not so much the result of clever handicraft as the effect of that strange innate feeling which, either creating or appreciating, causes the soul to rise in exultation to the consciousness of Art's elevating power. It is in our inner sympathy with this power of idealization in the artistic faculty that Art wields so potent a sway over us. But, after allowing for artistic capacity we seek artistic ability in the material, or mechanical presentations through which Art undertakes to convey its interpretations of the various aspects of thought and life; and it is in this relationship of idea and organism, of feeling and method, that Art's work must be considered and studied to fully and truly understand how much it means.

The fine arts are therefore one and the same in aim, but distinct from one another in method. It is in their methods that they may be considered distinctively, or individually; for, while the artistic feeling, pure and simple, enters into them all in an equal measure, mind, in its ratiocinative functions, does not.

The sculptor and the painter, for instance, must, to adequately formulate their conceptions, master a deal of technical knowledge the control and application of which calls for an exertion of the mind simple and limited compared to the work of the mind required for the conception and formulation of the architectural subject which, properly understood and treated, is a system of mutually affiliated elements, principles and feelings of industry, science, and art.

The painter and the sculptor, the writer and the composer, retire to their studios and dens, and there, in solitude and poetic mood, conceive and formulate their works on canvas and in marble, in phrases and in notes. The ideal and technical elements of their work are controlled and applied by themselves following the result as it immediately appears under their hands. For the final formulation of their work they do not need the aid of mechanical arts which they cannot resort to in their work-rooms. In their case skill and feeling, method and thought are applied simultaneously and undisturbed by extrinsic, or mutually antagonistic influences.

It is otherwise in the case of the architect who has to conceive, form, and complete his work under manifold influences and circumstances and through varied instrumentalities.

The architect conceives and shapes his work at once in the spirit of fine art and in the spirit of useful art. In his subject three broad qualities: Utility, Stability, and Beauty, rule supremely and simultaneously. In the successful expression of his conception the architect treats these three broad elements at once individually, collectively, and integratively. Now, the analysis of these three classes, in their application to architecture, discloses many categories involving a mass of interdependent branches of knowledge the control and application of which demand a mental movement so complicated, yet so orderly, as to be almost beyond popular comprehension. The very occasion of the architect's work is in the utilitarian and social wants of the age. The permanence, or stability, of his work is dependent upon his sound knowledge and accurate application of mechanical principles. The beauty of his work requires on his part a delicate sense of proportion, grace, and feeling of form—a refined appreciation and nice satisfaction of the immaterial,

and yet inexorable, exactions of good taste prescribed by æsthetics.

Upon receiving a commission the architect is morally and legally, appointed at once artist, scientist, and trustee, a triple capacity, so to speak, in which he is responsible to client and public. When the architect retires to his studio to begin his work the peculiar independence of artistic temperament, the strange pleasure of scientific thought and the burdensome sense of a trust constitute his mental state. Bending over a perfectly blank sheet of paper he sets down the planimetical limits of his work. He has so much space within which he is to conceive and elaborate a scheme which is to satisfy his client and cost a stipulated sum without violating the principles and conventions of art, science and business. At the very outset the architect proceeds on a compromise between ideal and practical elements. The beautiful and the useful are to be combined in his mental process and expressed in his work. No matter how circumstances of space or limitations of cost appears to baffle his efforts, he must patiently and perseverantly exercise his faculties to bring about at last the union of æsthetic and utilitarian elements. Proportion and symmetry, variety and homogeneity, grace of form and expression of countenance, convenience and order, structural strength and sanitary conditions, mechanical effects and pecuniary limitations, equally demand his attention and study. These requirements once implied and outlined in his preliminary study, the architect proceeds with their full development and application in the building-project by the elaboration, in succession, of scale drawings of the general scheme, scale, and full-sized drawings of details of design and construction, specifications of the materials to be provided, stating the conditions under which they are to be provided, and of the works to be performed, setting forth the methods by which they are to be performed, in the erection of the structure; all of which involves the collection and organization into one whole of innumerable details of mechanics, art, and science. He computes the general statical requirements of the fabric: the bearing capacity of foundations, the rigidity of walls, the strength of floors, the connection of organic parts. He attends in general and in detail to the carpenter's work, the plasterer's

work, the plumber's work, the joiner's work, and looks into the integrity of a multitude of material and mechanical elements and effects combined into a stable and permanent structure without overlooking the cardinal principle of obtaining the best practical results at the least possible outlay. Assisted by several draughtsmen, whom he directs and oversees, the architect slowly and patiently works his way through a labyrinth of scientific principles, artistic elements and social influences, to an organic combination of order, beauty, and comfort.

The architect is both scientific and artistic in the creation of his work. There is hardly any architectonic feature which does not appeal to his sense of science and art. Aesthetics tells him that the column must not be clumsy; science warns him that it must not be inadequate in diameter to the superimposed weight. The sense of elegance coaxes him to the semicircle arch; science leads him to the equilibration of the arch. Proportion induces him to a certain height of the lintel; science reminds him of the transverse strength of the material. Grace suggests to him the far-projecting console; science calls upon him to respect in it the principle of the cantilever. And so on with almost every detail of form and construction.

The architect further elaborates his work by the aid of plastic or chromatic art. He treats the panel in arabesque; the pilaster in flutes or caryatid; the frieze in bas-relief; the capital in acanthus and volute, and this surface or the other in some scheme of colors peculiar to architectival materials. His artistic work, subordinate to constructive principles and motives, does not end here; for, he may properly be called upon to conceive and develop a scheme of interior decoration which, with what he has already done of an artistic nature, will be, so to speak, the rhetorical emphasis of the architectural substance of his work.

When he has finished, in the seclusion of his office, the work which we have so far indicated, the architect has accomplished only part of his task. He has thus far rendered the building-project practicable through a clever interpretation and reconciliation of the one thousand and one conflicting conditions and circumstances in it involved, including the whims and peculiar tastes which often characterize his client. The architect is now to call for competitive tenders from the various trades which

have to do with building. His business ability now comes into action in his knowledge of the responsibility of those who bid for the execution of his project ; in his judgment of the degree of accuracy of the proposals which he receives for the actual execution of his project, and in his conclusion of a contract between client and builder. The building-contract consisting, as it does, of the plans, specifications, statement of the ways and means of proper and honest building, safeguards against business misunderstandings between all concerned, and all such conditions and provisions as the protection of the pecuniary interests of the case and ordinary commercial morality imperatively demand, may truly be said to be a compendium of the art and science of building.

The building contract signed, the architect becomes responsible for the true and final execution of it in so far as he, in behalf of his client, has to see that the work performed by the contractor comes up, in every particular, to the requirements of the contract. The contractor thus becomes the instrument with which the architect ultimately puts his work in permanent and practical form. Throughout the period of building operations, by deputy or in person, the architect watches the materials, works, and methods of the contractor with strict reference to the brain-work accurately recorded in the contract. Such mechanical incidents and business questions as may arise out of the complicated process of building, he must meet and settle with quick application of engineering skill and equitable exercise of judicial faculty. He is, in general, to proceed steadily and strongly with the discharge of the moral and legal duties which his professional position imposes upon him. In his supervision and direction of the works he must not swerve from the nice principles and ways which his peculiarly responsible position prescribes for the erection of the building in his charge to the true intent and meaning of the plans and specifications, and in a truly good, substantial, and skilful manner. When the structure is thus completed and turned over to its owner, the architect's work is finished.

It is evident that the architect's qualifications are mechanical faculty, artistic talent, and executive ability. In the discharge of his professional duties the architect is at once constructor,

artist, and trustee. If he overlooks mechanical principles his work fails structurally; if he is insensible to the delicate but firm exactions of æsthetic taste his work is artistically defective, and if he neglects business methods his work is administratively wrong. If the architect at once blunders mechanically, artistically, and administratively the result is worse than a botch—a crime; whereas in his industrious, faithful, and competent adherence to the principles and rules of joint mechanics, art, and business the result is a true architectural success which will give pleasure, comfort, and profit.

IV.

In this triple capacity, and in the attainments and duties which it entails, lay the peculiar difficulties of the architect's work. In the complexity of circumstances and conditions underlying the conception, development, and final accomplishment of the architectonic project, lays also the reason why the people do not appreciate the architectural profession so readily or so well as they do other professions. The popular mind grasps such manifestations of human activity as appeal to it through sense-impression, or sensation, more easily and more readily than it does those which reach it indirectly through a more or less complicated mental sequence; for, the order of human observation is to empirically apprehend certain uniformities in the relations of phenomena, and to proceed from them to remote circumstances which are the cause of those uniformities. In such a process of cognition, as the mind goes from the broad and simple phenomena, plainly manifested to the senses, to the remote laws of causation, visible to the inductive faculty, so goes it from the breadth to the depth of any subject. Mind grasps, therefore, the denotation before it grasps the connotation of things; and naturally it more readily comprehends a subject great in extension than it does one great in intension. This mode of procedure, so to speak, of the cognitive faculty explains, in a great measure, if not wholly, the prevailing vague notions with respect to architecture and its professors. It explains how the average mind notices the magnitude before it observes the architecture of a structure; it explains how the mason and carpenter who are daily seen at work are unduly

associated in the average mind with the art of building. It explains how a woman of considerable culture and position, with whom we were conversing about a prominent edifice which we were disposed to admire, eagerly asked who the builder thereof was; and how another, of no less culture, went into rhapsody over the contractor of her house, while she could not recollect the name of her architect under whose supervision and direction her contractor was building the house she liked so much.

Nor is this to be wondered at. Architecture, properly defined, understood and practiced, is a subject of great connotation. It is a comprehensive system of material, æsthetic and economic elements and principles controlled and applied under variable circumstances of place and life. Its meaning is too complex in the number, variety, distinctness, correlation, and organization of mechanical, æsthetic, and economic matters and influences for the multitude to comprehend; and the profession whose object is to know, control, and apply those matters and influences cannot receive adequate recognition from the many while the many do not appreciate the origin and nature of its subject.

V.

At this point of our discussion the question which naturally arises is: Does the architect, as we have defined him, exist among us?

The true architect does exist among us under circumstances somewhat unfavorable to his professional being. The trained and cultured architect, who draws inspiration from universal thought and life recorded in the imperishable monuments of past and contemporary progress, is hampered in his professional movement by mixed influences of feeling and locality for which he and the society in which he lives are reciprocally responsible in so far as there is human responsibility in anything of the sort.

With respect to purely psychological causes of the indistinct character of the architect's profession in the mind of the many, we have already discussed the subject in broad outlines; but, at this point we may add that the vague position which, in a professional sense, the architect occupies in our society is due in a great measure to an intricacy of imperfect artistic notions and

questionable practical feelings in the people in so far as such notions and feelings concern Architecture. To the practical and empirical sense which the American has heretofore fostered by the development of material resources, a purely mechanical, or directly visible, process of work is more readily noticeable and comprehensible than the unseen method of the professional architect. Even the lawyer, or physician, whose work is essentially intellectual, comes directly and personally before the people in the practice of his profession. For this reason the lawyer's or physician's profession is pretty well defined and recognized by the people. The architect performs his duties and attains his professional achievements indirectly through the instrumentality of many distinct but allied arts and trades which, in his professional practice, he controls and directs almost literally from his desk. For this reason the architect's office, or *raison d'être*, is but a myth to the many, and at best an indistinct idea with many of those who, in education and circumstances, are above the masses.

With respect to the architect's share of blame for his vague professional identity in the public mind we note principally a lack of active professional organization. Until very recently the members of this profession did little or nothing to bring themselves as a professional body to the notice of the public in the active organized manner in which other professions have and do. The American Institute of Architects is an institution comparatively old, excellent in purpose, fine in the personal character and technical training and general culture of its members, but somewhat sluggish and fruitless in collective or organized action. The Institute is made up of local societies, or chapters, as they are officially called, originally established with a view to opening the doors of the Institute to the members of the profession throughout our vast territory, and thus concentrate and stimulate the professional functions of this body in one national organization. The intention and policy of such a scheme appear commendable, but for reasons which we cannot investigate here, the Institute does not seem to have as yet attained its purpose. The American architects have organized into local and independent societies instead of being drawn into the Institute. The result is that the American Institute of

Architects has, strictly speaking, neither the nationally representative character, nor the fruitful activity and prestige which greater collective force would naturally give to it.

Some of the local associations, and in particular the Architectural League of New York, which is composed mainly of young men, have manifested a praiseworthy disposition to raise the standard of the profession and to bring its work to the notice of the public through academic competitions and public exhibitions. And in praise of the young League be it said that, so far as we know, it is the initiator of an organized movement which will greatly help to develop and draw the appreciative attention of the people to Architecture and its devotees. But the League is not an association of architects exclusively. Among its members there are architects as well as professional decorators, painters, and sculptors. In character and feeling it is more artistic than architectonic. Its work is nevertheless very praiseworthy in itself, and very valuable supplementarily to the actual and prospective work of the distinctively architectural associations, which, throughout the country begin to show a wholesome awakening to the necessity of organized action in behalf of the ideal, scientific, and economic interests of the architectonic profession. Such important questions as the architect's standard of qualifications, the ways and means of enforcing such a standard, and the methods and conditions which should regulate public competitions have of late been taken up, more or less earnestly, by these associations. In general, the tendency to a close and active organization is quite marked among our architects, so that some, if not most, of the difficulties under which the practice and profession of Architecture has labored for want of professional organization may sooner or later be overcome.

One of the evils which organization in this field of activity may remedy is architectural quackery which has already done far too much to retard the improvement of American architecture. Through the breach of technical exclusiveness incompetency has largely invaded the ranks of the profession. Actuated by purely mercantile motives, many who have not even the rudiments of a general education, which might give to their work at least a certain dilletantic grace, have entered the broad

and varied field of Architecture to obstruct and distress, with their clumsy ways of thought and work, the progress of competency. Without ill-will, and wholly unconscious of mischief, these quacks sow weeds in a fertile field so that the wholesome plant, husbanded by the conscientious, trained, and gifted, must force its legitimate and natural growth against retardative influences. Having mastered one or another of the trades supplemental to the comprehensive art of building, these individuals innocently fancy themselves fully equipped to successfully grasp and master the whole building scheme, and the zest with which they enter, what to them must appear as an arena of personal tournament, and the presumptuous air with which they proclaim their advent, show how much untold bliss may be realized from stupendous self-ignorance.

Although the architectonic failure of the work of these incompetent individuals sooner or later becomes painfully apparent to those who are unfortunate enough to employ them, the discredit of failure extends beyond the narrow limits within which it should properly fall; because the quack in this line of business has no scruples in palming himself off to the public as *architect*, and because those who are misled into his hands by the name thus misapplied, seeing that, after all the fuss and floundering of the *architect*, their interests in matters of building are jeopardized and often sacrificed, readily doubt whether there is, after all, any reason for the architect's being. People who are thus humbugged by tolerated impostors in the profession of architecture, are ignorantly inclined to entertain and propagate among their no better instructed acquaintances the notion that the employment of an architect is at best an unnecessary luxury, if not a positive harm. The vague notion which they already have of the qualifications of the architect is apt to give way to a fixed prejudice against the architect as soon as they have had dealings with a self-styled *architect* who, in his ignorance of the essential principles and legitimate methods of the profession, leads them to all but complete ruin. The competent architects have thus suffered from the quacks more than they have been disposed to believe.

Until lately the responsible and competent members of the profession assumed towards architectural quacks a passive atti-

tude at once implying an unconscious contempt for false pretenses and an intuitive assurance that competency would sooner or later conquer and drive incompetency to the wall. The deplorable results of incompetence have been and are so many that the true architects, supported in a measure by the best informed of the public, begin to bestir themselves to check the further development of the architectural quack who is beyond question a social evil in the propagation and perpetuation of abominations in a field of activity so intimately connected with the material, domestic, æsthetic, moral, and economic interests of the individual and of society.

We have intimated that lack of organization, and consequent lack of academic activity, on the part of architects, is to be regretted. With respect to this we would note that the intensely commercial spirit of our nation has heretofore been an influence unfavorable to the academic activity of our architects. As members of society architects live in characteristically commercial communities, the conditions and exactions of which do not strongly favor any but the selfish or purely practical phase of a profession. In such communities there is a strong inclination to measure success by the pecuniary standard. Such an inclination, good and even praiseworthy as it may be in its way, is not by itself an incentive to the higher and nobler aspirations of a liberal profession. Architects, as a class, cannot help partaking of the general character and feeling of the communities in which they live and work, and consequently they are prone, like other active members of society, to practice their profession from selfish motives only slightly tempered with scholarly feelings. The practical requirements of society thus impede them from giving more time than they do to the cultivation of ideal ends which, even if attained, would not bring to them the pleasure and prestige of success in the eyes of those among whom they live. In fact there are among us men who, as architects, have achieved great things but who are not, from a popular point of view, so conspicuous in their professional worth as they are in their financial position.

VI.

With reference to the material circumstances of architecture there are local and speculative conditions which, in our larger cities in particular, are obstacles to a proper and full architectural development. A serious drawback to such a development is the general laying out of cities in rectangular or square blocks divided into long and narrow lots. The regulation twenty-five foot lot is an awkward physical limitation to street architecture in that it prevents breadth of proportion and dignity of composition in the treatment of exteriors, and openness of plan and effect of perspective in interiors. The immense growth of most of our cities has so enhanced the commercial value of land as to aggravate the limitations inherent to the narrow building site. The American architect is, by such restrictions of space, trammelled in his artistic feeling and tasked to the utmost in his mechanical ingenuity. The architectural defects growing out of limitations of space are necessarily propagated from lot to lot along our city streets until the entire line of vision appears as an uninterrupted series of architectural oddities. The city which presents the most conspicuous illustration of such a peculiar architectural perspective is perhaps New York—the metropolis of the western hemisphere. Along with many beautiful details and considerable knack of composition there is in the perspective of the streets of the great metropolis a generally slouchy appearance due to want of repose and consecutive order in the architectural body. There is a distressing restlessness in the absence of a base line for the eye to rest upon and follow the converging lines. In the lack of repose there is want of noble deportment, as in the lack of continuity of design there is want of elegance; and in the absence of both order of composition and grace of form in the architectural vista, in vain we look for architectural refinement.

Besides the disadvantages of the narrow lot there are others in the area lines, stoop lines, and building lines which are rudely made use of to set up stock design railings, clumsy newel posts, steep and narrow stoops, yawning areas, break-neck steps, dangerously raised cope-stones, feet-torturing sidewalk-lights, awe-inspiring elevator wells, and gapping “dives,” all of which are worse than objectionable from an architectural

point of view, because they completely swamp the architectural base. Here and there we notice a disposition and even an effort of the architect to obliterate these lines, but tradition, or commercial *reclame*, too often proves too strong against such an improvement. The effort of the architect in that respect is often neutralized by the placing of gaudy show-cases, or by the exhibition of goods over nearly one-half of the sidewalk, or by the erection of railings, for which there are neither practical nor æsthetic reasons. To make matters worse municipal authority allows or tolerates along the sidewalk rickety wooden awnings, garbage boxes, twisted and rusty lampless poles, ragged and rotten telegraph poles, blood-red spiral barber poles and one thousand and one barbaric devices which the small and big traders conceive and set up to proclaim the virtues of their business. So much slovenliness along the sidewalk is fatal to architectural effect. It certainly obstructs, in fact and feeling, any point of view which a street architecturally affords, and muffles the base line, which is to architecture what the base note is to music.

Not the least evil in our Architecture is the promiscuous manner in which signs of horrible designs and sizes are fixed on the façades. It is true that in some cases the signs perform a charitable office in covering architectural monstrosities, but it is also true that generally they cover that which is intended to be, and should be, exposed to view. In many cases the architect, dreading the onslaught of the sign upon his façade, takes pains to provide a place in the design where the sign may be conspicuous without doing undue harm to the architectural countenance and expression of the front; but the man, whose name and business the sign displays, often overlooks the architect's intention and places the formidable sign-board over some elegant frieze, cornice, or some other vital member of the architectural composition, leaving perfectly blank the space which is architecturally intended for it. The artistic motive of the façade is thus mercilessly stifled and the architect's knack of composition rudely hidden.

Economic considerations often lead to violations of fundamental principles of plan and elevation even in cases where restrictions of space are greatly removed. In the building

project motives and principles generally prevail similar to those which prompt and rule the investment of funds in other fields of industry and commerce. In the study and development of the building project it is the architect's maxim and duty to take into serious account well-considered economy, but unfortunately for the practice of Architecture one of the idiosyncrasies of the business man is to expect and claim a higher percentage of profit in his investments in improved real estate than in any other kind of investment, so that the architect is usually called upon and often forced to satisfy exaggerated conditions and requirements of economy largely at the cost of the higher feelings, thoughts, and rules of his art. The evils growing out of the speculative conditions of building are but too often cramped and awkward interiors, dizzy and gawky elevations and structural make-shifts. In order to crowd more tenants to the square yard than nature ever intended, supposed want of breadth is made up in height, and fancied lack of area is remedied at the cost of light and air. Cupidity, mistaken for economy, is satisfied with inferior materials, and bustle, mistaken for consistent expedition, is content with slovenly work. The conscientious architect endeavors to properly modify and meet the requirements of his client, but it is the genuine quack architect who boldly undertakes to serve the man of exaggerated speculative nature by the commission of architectural disorders which eventually impair the intended result in insufficient accommodations, structural defects, artistic deformities, and consequent repairs, renewals, and alterations, or destroy it totally by positive disaster.

VII.

Notwithstanding the difficulties which we have broadly pointed out, the American architect is steadily and surely advancing towards the high place which his noble profession prepares for him in the higher and more honored walks of life. It is true that we, as a people, are yet more mechanical than artistic, more commercial than professional, and that our architecture largely partakes of our general character; yet, even in its somewhat unsatisfactory form, American architecture shows traces of a decidedly good direction, which, eventually encour-

aged by the appreciation of a highly civilized people, may become a positive movement for the highest possible architectonic achievements.

The progress of Architecture, as an embodiment of the practical and æsthetic requirements of the people, follows closely the traditions and general development of the nation; and it is with reference to these traditions and contemporary development that the architectural state should be considered to critically determine its true meaning and value. The thoughts, habits, and wants of a people are more clearly reflected in its architecture than in any other art. Even written history, compared to architecture, very imperfectly transmits to posterity the life and thought of nations. It is through architectural remains principally that we obtain trustworthy evidences of the general condition of even pre-historic people; a fact which proves Architecture to be literally and romantically the most constructive and enduring of the arts. People of past greatness retain a peculiar pride in the architectural monuments which in eloquent silence attest to traditional glory, and which are often the source of inspiration and incentive for renewed creative efforts.

The American architect is, comparatively speaking, under no immediate traditional influences in the evolution of his art. Whatever inspiration he has he receives from a cultured observation of past and contemporary history of foreign architecture. His sympathies move along an intermediate path between a praiseworthy patriotism and a reverence for foreign history with which he is unconsciously affiliated. Such a dual inward state, combined with the external requirements and mental conditions of the society in which he lives, gives him the artistic versatility and mechanical ingenuity with which he generally characterizes his work. In a narrow sense the American architect follows no school, while in a broad sense he is at home with any school. Consequently our architecture is, so to speak, a gorgeous whole made up of fine heterogeneous parts. In composition it lacks uniformity of motive, in design it is clever, and in the whole it betrays an exuberance of spirits leading to the picturesque a little farther than is consistent with the fundamental principles and methods of construction which underlie the

sober and legitimate development of the architectural scheme. So indefinite an architectural character reflects an indefinite social character. It betrays a fast developing social mind and an equally fast developing environment in process of adjusting themselves to each other.

But, the tendency of our architects to a more serious treatment of the subject of their art, and the corresponding tendency of the public to be pleased with such a treatment, point to a degree of correspondence already attained between the mental and material circumstances of our social organism, and to the fact that we, as a people, have reached a stage of anthropographical growth at which we begin to appreciate and satisfy the higher and nobler wants of the mind through the developed material resources which in their undeveloped state, in the preceding stages of progress, necessarily engrossed our attention to the exclusion of the cultivation and indulgence of the contemplative faculties. To the general intellectual and material prosperity of the country succeeds thus an artistic and scientific movement which eventually perpetuates itself in civil architecture and the allied arts. In its utilitarian and æsthetic aspects, an advanced state of architecture is contemporary with an advanced state of civilization. Architecture is in fact the art of edification. It is the monumental materialization of the associations of life which find their efficacy in the humanizing feelings and motives of the race. It expresses, records, and renders impressive our sentiments, thoughts, and activities in home-surroundings, in seats of learning, in halls of legislation, justice, and commercial intercourse. It edifies our feelings in temples of the Muses, and solemnizes our worship in temples of religion. In general, it refines and elevates sense and mind in the midst of the influences and motives of consortion.

That we are approaching such an advanced state of civilization as will bring about an advanced state of architecture can scarcely be doubted in view of the recognized traits of our people. There is in them a good will, and even enthusiasm, for intellectual improvement, a versatility which disposes the mind to appreciate the true and the beautiful in life and thought, and a consciousness of that which should be appreciated and assimilated, which consciousness is a preliminary condition to

an inward sympathy for that which should be known, valued, and applied. Such traits are preliminary conditions to a highly developed social organism, the refined, moral, intellectual, æsthetic, and material resources of which will be symbolized and proclaimed in a definite and dignified national school of Architecture.

A tendency to a definite architectural movement is, as we have indicated, already apparent in a better comprehension and treatment of the architectural subject, and in a disposition of the cultured public to encourage and support such a tendency. It is also manifest in the earnest desire of the practicing architects to foster the interests of their profession by organization, in the multiplication of technical periodicals and increase of popular literature on matters architectural, in the establishment of chairs of Architecture in our leading educational institutions and in other ways.

It is directly manifested in our more recent architecture, particularly in the ecclesiastical and suburban branches which are comparatively free from the drawbacks and limitations of the street-branch. In our recent buildings we notice a tendency to breadth of proportion, structural motive, and grouping of parts into an organic whole animated with expressive decoration. In the interiors we detect traces of a refined feeling of design, elegance of simplicity, and meaning of form in contrast to the tawdry and vulgar compositions of earlier days. So good a tendency, favored by the ever-improving intellectual and æsthetic conditions of society, and strengthened in impetus and effect by the finer feeling and training, and consequent improved efficiency of the architectural profession, will sooner or later assume the character and force of a positive movement leading to results which will mark great and permanent national progress.

E. GANDOLFO.

UNIVERSITY TOPICS.

SERMON OF PRESIDENT DWIGHT PREACHED IN THE
UNIVERSITY CHAPEL ON THE FIRST SUNDAY
OF THE ACADEMICAL YEAR.*

Psalm xvi. 6: The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places.

So says the Psalmist of himself. We who are assembled here this morning as a peculiar community may take his words upon our lips, and may bear with us the thought that to us also the same blessing has been given. And on a day like this, which opens a new life to some of us and begins a new year for all of us, it may be especially fitting that we should call to mind the distinctive privileges which belong to our membership of the University and the obligations to duty and service which they bring upon us. In this way the Christian teaching of thankfulness and devotion may present itself impressively, as it is suggested by our condition and by the hour.

Among the peculiar privileges of our life here, the first which will naturally occur to us is that which pertains to the intellectual character of the place and its work. The person who enters the University determines his course for the future. In the act of uniting himself with it, as we may say, he establishes a purpose which may have been wavering or uncertain before, and turns his life permanently away from the more outward sphere to the more inward one. He has now decided to be an educated man, and whatever may open to him as his special calling in the coming years—even if he devotes himself to trade, or to any of the more active occupations which offer themselves to his choice—he will, because of this decision, be a different man from what he could have been otherwise; he will have an intellectual element in his living unknown to the generality of those about him.

The special blessing connected with this intellectual element lies, in the first place, in the pleasure and satisfaction which the

* This sermon, which was preached on the first Sunday of the academical year (Sept. 28, 1888), is printed here at the special request of some who listened to it.

mind always has in acquiring knowledge. Our business is to be learners, and the paths of learning open widely before us. As we give ourselves earnestly and faithfully to this business, we are continually gaining new measures of knowledge. With each new measure, we have a sense of new power. We have, also, a vision of larger possibilities. And with the new power and the greater possibilities there comes into the soul of the true and ardent man increased enjoyment of the highest and noblest kind. To know more this year than we did last year; to be sure of knowing more at the end of another year than we do to-day; is not only the prerogative of the student, but his delight, an experience of his inmost life which abides with him most happily and hopefully.

I cannot but think however, that, great as is this satisfaction in our increasing knowledge, there is a still greater one connected with our peculiar life—and that is, the satisfaction involved in the fact that, as educated men, we become men of thought. The solitary hours, when one is alone with himself, are the hours in which we have the deepest need. At other times, we may find our wants supplied by what those around us can furnish. But in these seasons we are dependent on our own resources. The necessity of our life therefore is, that these should not fail, if we are to attain that rich happiness which belongs to our best condition. Now the final aim of the University, in all that it does for those who enter within its walls, is to make them thus men of thought. For this all studies are designed; to this end inspirations and impulses are set in motion; to effect this the influences from the past are preserved and cherished; and in order that this may be accomplished the place itself, as it were, breathes into every one, as far as may be possible, its own elevating and quickening spirit. So true is this, that the student who begins his life here and opens his mind at once to the influences which come upon him, will find, even from the outset, the stirrings of higher and better thought; and, when he comes to the end of his course and thinks of what it has given him, he will recognize in this gift that which most fully repays him for his efforts and most completely satisfies him as a man. It is not so much what we have learned and what we know—great as is the blessing thus afforded us—as what we think, that leads us in after years to look back upon the time spent here as a golden period. It is a golden period in its richer fruitage of our thinking, because the seed of our thinking and our power of thought is planted here.

A third element of privilege in the life of this place, which will suggest itself to every mind, is found in the possibilities of friendly intercourse which are so abundant here. It is the experience of all that there is no sphere so adapted to manly friendship of the higher order as the sphere of the University. Men are at the warm-hearted age when they enter this sphere—all alike waking up to life in its spring-time attractiveness, all alike free from suspicion and ready for generous emotion and kindly helpfulness, all alike having that leisure of the soul's life which pertains to the student years, when the busy world is yet outside of daily thought, and out of which affection for those around us grows so easily. The surroundings, too, which encircle all, and the common life and duties which continue so long and give so many opportunities for gaining knowledge of each other's characters, fit themselves, as we may say, closely into the sympathies and impulses of the age in life, and thus make their continual contribution to the same result. And then, how closely and naturally does this movement of heart toward heart unite itself with that other element of our life which has just been mentioned—the thoughtful element, as we may call it—and thus give to friendships here, when they are rightly formed, the most pure and satisfying character. The place becomes to us a place of education, in this way, both for mind and heart—the intellectual and emotional parts of our nature working together to the same end, and after the manner in which they must work if this end is to be the true development of manhood.

A fourth element in the privilege of our peculiar life is connected with this fact now mentioned. The time which we spend here is a formative period. It is a period, therefore, in which everything that we take into ourselves and make our own, will become our permanent possession. This is more truly the case than it can be afterwards—though it may be true in some measure of all parts of our career—for in the formative time we are determining our lines of thought and action, and establishing our purposes, and fixing the habits which are to govern the future, and in every way creating the man within us. If the person who enters the University, therefore, turns his course in the right direction at the beginning, he will find that every acquisition and every thought and every friendship will become a part of himself, an abiding influence which will tell upon character and life. I doubt whether we, any of us, realize in thought the fullness of the blessing thus

placed in our possession here, while yet we are within the limits of the student years. The understanding of it comes more fully afterwards—and oftentimes partly in connection with the recalling of what might have been, had we given greater heed to the opportunity and privilege offered to us. But if we only allow ourselves to reflect upon it for a moment, we must surely know that the building time is the time of promise, and that what is placed in the foundation walls is that upon which everything of the superstructure rests. In this sense, the beginner has the greatest privilege. He starts the whole course. He opens the way for himself to all that may follow after. And as he gains for his character, or firmly fixes in his mind, that which makes the basis of manly life, he may see that it will be certainly secure, for the future must rest upon it. It is a pleasant time, the time of placing the foundations of intellectual and spiritual life, for then the man has himself, as it were, peculiarly in his own power. He can make of himself in his essential manhood what he will, and can be sure that what he does will remain. The lines, we may most truly say, fall in pleasant places to every one to whom, in his youth, is given the privilege of going through this formative period in a place where all the elements of the highest kind of life are found ready for him to receive them into himself, if he will, and where, as he receives them, he may know that, by the very law of our nature, they must become living forces working for all the future. The thing which he is doing day by day—whatever it may be, so it be in accordance with the genuine and noble spirit of the place—turns for him into the sure foundation for something greater, and establishes, in its measure, the life of the mind and soul.

There is one other element in the privilege of our life here, to which our thoughts may well turn whenever we call to mind what the University gives to us. We belong to a great brotherhood of educated and honorably living men, the formative period of whose life was passed here. I say, of men who are living honorably according to the true principles which govern educated men, for though there may be among the sons of the University, younger or older, those who have abandoned these principles and rejected their power, we all feel at once, and are ready to say, that they are not of us, in the deepest sense, but were only once with us. They do not represent the real life which is formed by the influences and inspirations—the learning and the thinking—

the mind-movement and the soul-movement of this place. They have lost the life out of themselves, and belong here only in name, as shadows out of which the substance has gone. The true sons of the University are the company of men who, whether at the beginning or the ending of their life's course, are living honorably and rightly as educated men;—and in this company every one who enters here has the privilege of membership, and of all the influences attendant upon such membership.—And what is the measure of this privilege? It is one of the mysteries and blessings of our life, that we do not live wholly in or of ourselves. There are forces, which mould us and impel us, coming upon our life continually from those by whom we are surrounded, and even from those who are separated from us by a far distance in time or space. Now in a University these forces have their origin in the common life and spirit of all who have had their dwelling within its walls. If the history of the University goes back for two centuries, these forces started long since. Long before the men of the present or their fathers entered upon their course of education, the character of the forces was determined and they began their work for all lives. The men of the early years passed them over as if a legacy to succeeding generations, and the children's children, as we may say, inherit what the ancestors had to give them. But in any University worthy of the name, and surely in ours, these forces work for the highest order of living. Every man who comes within the sphere of their working receives their influence into himself—consciously it may be at times, but far oftener unconsciously—and in this influence experiences a blessing which he cannot estimate. I know not how we may measure influences accurately—but it sometimes seems to me, as I think of it, that this force which comes out of the unseen is the greatest which penetrates our life. Whether it be so or not, its results, beyond all question, are a most important and essential part of our individual manhood, and we feel, every one of us, in our best moments the inspiration of the brotherhood. The lines of our life which include us within this brotherhood are lines which fall to us in pleasant places.

What I have thus said of the elements and privileges of our University life is familiar to our thought. I have only purposed to suggest to you what you all know indeed, but yet may well call to mind anew with the opening of the new year. The blessings are none the less worthy of mention because every one of

us can think of them for himself. The pleasant places are none the less pleasant because they are familiar. But the thought of them should be for other ends than mere enjoyment or satisfaction. Life here is, and ought to be, manly life, and the remembrance of what it gives us should incite to the duty which lies near the peculiar blessings. What is this duty? What is thus the teaching of the hour and of its thought?

I cannot but think that the first duty, and the first lesson, is that of thankfulness to the Divine Friend and Father who has allotted to us our life here. The student who passes within the gateway of these pleasant places finds peculiar gifts awaiting him. The vision which opens before his mind is a delightful one, and, as he moves forward to the realization of what is offered, he finds the experience of his daily life fulfilling, and more than fulfilling, the picture which he saw at first. How can he begin his course, or go forward in it, without the remembrance of the giver of the blessings? How can he fail to be grateful for what he has received? There is much that is interesting in the thought of the University life. But I know of nothing more interesting, or more true, than the thought of this life as prepared by the kind ordering of God for the fitting of peculiarly privileged men for the highest works and walks in the world. The movement of a divine influence and inspiration in the hearts of those who founded it; the impulse which led generous and self-sacrificing friends to consecrate effort, and study, and gifts for its growth and success; the impartation of a common purpose to all who carried it forward through its past history; the perpetuating of the scholarly and Christian spirit from one generation of students to another—all this seems to have been devised and arranged by a guiding Providence, in order that we, and those who follow us, may inherit the fullness of the good things. Other men labored and wrought under the inspiration from heaven, and we enter into the results of what they did. But as the plan reaches to us, and the ends of the generations, as it were, come down to meet each one of our lives, the mind of every man here, if he thinks of himself and realizes what has been allotted to him, must gratefully look to the great benefactor. If he does not, he loses out of himself the impulse of a manly soul and forgets the lesson taught him by the very place in which he lives. Nay, more than this, he denies the noblest part of his nature, for when the peculiar gifts and blessings which enter within the sphere of inmost personal experience

and contribute richly to make us what we really are become the objects of our thought, all that is best in our souls responds to them, and thus emotion gladly answers to thought and remembrance.

But when we speak of thankfulness in such a connection as this, we may most fitly think of it, not simply as an emotion, but as an incentive to the fulfillment of duty. The true student in the University, as I am sure we shall all agree, is impelled to his work by other causes than the rules of his daily life which are established for him. The higher motives are those which he appreciates. He uses the privileges for what he may gain for himself by means of them. He is glad to add to his knowledge for the sake of knowing, and for the pure pleasure which the enlarging sphere of thought may make possible for him. But he also moves forward—and this is the true and natural movement of his generous spirit—under the inspiring force of the thought that a great life-blessing has been offered to him; and in grateful acknowledgment of it he would prove himself worthy of the gift. What is the impulse which carries on the son of a noble family to a noble life? Is it not the thought of the blessing bestowed upon him in that gift of God which gave him his life in such a household? The thankful appreciation of what the blessing is for himself makes him earnest for every duty and service which it involves. So also it will and must be with the son of this greater household. And this fulfillment of duty will be in the lines of privilege of which we have spoken at the beginning.

It will be so, first, with reference to thought and study. The student who comes here for the first time, or the one who returns after the enjoyment of past blessings, will, as he remembers that this peculiar life is a gift to him from God, press forward in his learning and thinking under the influence of grateful feeling. I bear within me, he will say to himself, the consciousness that a greater than earthly Friend has opened to my mind what this place has to bestow. I must act in accordance with what this consciousness would dictate. Opportunities must be used, the daily work must be accomplished, truth must be sought after for its own sake and with honest purpose. We must put forth our effort to know because knowing is good, and must receive all knowledge into sound and loving hearts. We do not come hither merely to get ready for a particular work in the world, as the youth learns a trade. We come hither to be educated men, and

with a growing sense of the value of the privilege. We are free, and not in bondage to a law or rule, because we have this true purpose and rejoice in what is bestowed upon us. This is the sentiment and attitude of the genuine son of the University who thankfully appreciates the glory of his sonship. The impulse of his gratitude unites with the inspiration coming from the manly sense of privilege, or of duty, to bear him on with energy, and with sincerity also.

I commend to you this thought, my friends. The duties of this place are not tasks to be avoided or disliked. They are what brings into our possession the peculiar blessing which has fallen to us. The gateway of knowledge is near them, and, what is even better than this, the gateway of a thoughtful life, pure in its happiness and ever increasingly rich in its gifts. In the thoughtlessness or the pleasures of the moment you may forget this truth. You may suffer the hours to pass without taking advantage of them. You may even—as some have done before you—throw away the good which is ready for your reception. But so soon as you summon yourself back to the right working of your mind and view things as they really are, you will see that this is the result of thoughtlessness indeed—you will see that it is not the use but the abuse of what is given you, an abuse which is unworthy of your manliest character, and especially unworthy of one who owes such great possibilities to the kindness of that Friend who allots all things in wisdom and love. Think what the place is, and what it involves of good for your life—think of the source from which the privilege of dwelling in the place and knowing its good in your own experience came to you—and then follow in the line of your thinking. You will then need no exhortation from another, but will move joyously to duty and privilege from the impulse of your own deepest and loftiest sentiment. We call you only to let the thought of the allotment of the pleasant places abide with its genuine power within your soul constantly; and we know it will be well with you, if your action is in harmony with your thought. This harmony is true manhood, and has in it the promise of these years.

And then, what shall we say of friendship and the brotherhood? The son of the University who connects the fact of his sonship with the allotment of the Divine Friend and Father will have, here again, a sentiment to guide him and an inspiration to impel him in relation to these elements of his life. Being conscious of the

blessings which they involve and of the true purpose of living here, he will seek the friendships which have the most of good within them, and will ever try to be worthy of the great brotherhood. The University life is the best for character in the formative period, largely because it offers such opportunities for friendly influence, while the working of its own spirit is always towards the selection of those whose friendly influence is the best. We judge things rightly, not by the evil side which we sometimes see, but by the tendencies, and by the inward spirit which guides and moves. And when we judge thus, who can doubt that in these seats of thought and learning the inspiration is for good? There is no place in the world where the men of highest purpose, and manliest spirit, and purest thought and life are more sure to gain the approval of the common sentiment, and none where the influence of such men more naturally and gently and powerfully works its way into any or every receptive soul.

The duty of your life here, my friend—nay, I may better say, the privilege of your life here—is so to take into yourself these best influences which the familiar associations of the place offer to you, that the noblest part of others' lives shall become, in some true sense, a portion of your own. If you do not carelessly or wilfully turn away from the choice and pure friendships to the lower and baser ones, which, alas, are sometimes possible even here, you will surely gain the good as you open the doors of your heart. It will find its way into your inmost living constantly, and after the most helpful and delightful manner. Its entrance will be through that daily intercourse by means of which friends become united together. Its working power in the soul will be manifest in all the lines of character and experience. Its results will be a larger and continually larger measure of itself—a good which you will understand more thoroughly, as you understand more and more fully, in after years, what you are and have become. I ask you to think of the blessing and to make it your own.

And what can duty to the great brotherhood be for you, but to live worthily of membership in it? The man who knows, in any measure, what the gift bestowed upon him in the University is, and who thankfully acknowledges it as a gift for his true life, will not need to be reminded of the obligation imposed upon him by reason of the fact that he shares it with a great company both of the past and the present. He will rather, as he rejoices in the knowledge that he is surrounded by inspirations coming from

those who are seen and those who are unseen, give his energies willingly and joyfully to the bringing of his personal life into harmony with these inspirations. He will take care—not from the sense of duty merely, but from the grateful impulses of his heart—that the pleasant places, in which he is spending these years, receive no harm or defilement from his presence in them. He will keep himself pure and thoughtful and earnest and honorable, because the spirit of the brotherhood is such. The son of the University, he will feel, must be deserving of the name. The favored man—favored of the all-disposing Father—who has received the inheritance which has been handed down from the older brothers of the household, as they passed on to other scenes with ennobled life, will strive in all faithfulness to gather for himself the fruit of the inheritance and, when he has satisfied his own wants, to leave it in all the riches of its blessing for those who follow him.

The years here are, as we have said, the formative years of life. In view of this happy, yet serious and all-important and impressive fact, action and purpose in these years become essential to the future. The course turned here into the right line will be always right. The knowledge, and thought, and friendship, and the soul's life coming from them, which are established here, will be secure hereafter. All things, as we may say, are in your power to-day. As the gateway of the year and the life opens to-day, let me point you to the blessing which lies within the gateway, and say to you, as one who has long known and loved the pleasant places, that, if you will receive to yourselves the true spirit of the University, you will find it ever an inspiration toward good; and let me say, also, that the spirit of the University is the spirit of duty as impelled by thankfulness—the spirit which recognizes in the allotment of our life the gift of a Divine Friend, and rejoices to be worthy of the blessing which He bestows.

YALE UNIVERSITY BULLETIN.

No. 60.—WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 29, 1888.

Sunday, September 23.—*Public Worship*—Battell Chapel, 10.30 A. M. Rev. President Dwight.—*Yale Young Men's Christian Association Monthly Meeting*—Dwight Hall, 6.45 P. M. Address by President Dwight.

Wednesday, September 26.—*Psychology* (University Lecture)—Professor Ladd. 194 Old Chapel, 4 P. M.

Thursday, September 27.—*Law School*—Fall Term opens—Lecture Room, No. 18 Court House, 12 M.—*College Faculty Meeting*—7 Treasury Building, 4 P. M.

Friday, September 28.—*Berkeley Association* (Evening Prayer)—Room 89, Dwight Hall, 6.45 P. M.

Yale Law School.—Professor Wayland will meet the undergraduate classes in the Junior Lecture Room, No. 18 Court House, at 12 M., on Thursday, September 27. Professor Baldwin will meet the graduate class in the Faculty Room, No. 18 Court House, at 12.30 P. M., on the same day.

No. 61.—WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 6, 1888.

Sunday, September 30.—*Public Worship*—Battell Chapel, 10.30 A. M. Rev. Joseph Anderson, D.D., of Waterbury.—*General Religious Meeting*—Dwight Hall, 6.30 P. M. Address by the Rev. H. P. Nichols, of Trinity Church.

Monday, October 1.—*School of the Fine Arts*—School year opens.

Wednesday, October 3.—*Medical School*—Matriculation examination. Medical School, 150 York st., 9 A. M.—*Psychology*—(University Lecture)—Professor Ladd. 194 Old Chapel, 4 P. M.—*Semitic Club*—Paper by Professor Harper, on The Work of the Club for the coming Year. Room B, East Divinity Hall, 7 P. M.

Thursday, October 4.—*Medical School*—Fall Term opens—Medical School, 150 York st.

Friday, October 5.—*Berkeley Association* (Evening Prayer)—Room 89, Dwight Hall, 6.45 P. M.—*Lecture Preparatory to Communion Service*—Dwight Hall, 7.30 P. M.

Hugh Chamberlain Greek Prize.—The Hugh Chamberlain Greek Prize, being the income for one year of a fund of one thousand dollars, given in 1886 by the Hon. Daniel H. Chamberlain, LL.D., of New York City, is divided between Bernard Melzar Allen, of Waltham, Mass., who was prepared for College at Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass., and Emanuel Frank Snyderacker, of Chicago, Ill., who was prepared at

the South Division High School, Chicago; honorable mention is also made of the examinations of Henry Barrett Hinckley, of Northampton, Mass., who was prepared at the New Church School, Waltham, Mass., and of William Lloyd Kitchel, of New Haven, Conn., who was prepared at the New Haven High School.

This prize is offered annually to the members of the class entering College, for the best examination in the Greek required for admission.

Bristed Scholarship Examination.—The next examination for the Bristed Scholarship, which is open to members of the Sophomore and Junior classes in College, will be held on May 6, 7 and 8, 1889. The subjects for examination will be as follows:

In Latin, Cicero—Tusculan Disputations, Book I; Lucretius—Book V.; Catullus—the selections in Crowell's edition; Vergil—the Georgics; Horace—the Epistles; Latin Composition.

In Greek, Homer—the Iliad, with questions on the composition and form of the poems, their historical value, the Homeric language; Plato—the Phædo.

In Mathematics—to the end of the Sophomore year's work.

NO. 62—WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 13, 1888.

Sunday, October 7.—*Public Worship, followed by Communion Service*—Battell Chapel, 10.30 A. M. Rev. President Dwight.—*General Religious Meeting*, to be addressed by students—Dwight Hall, 6.30 P. M.

Monday, October 8.—*Preservation of Health* (Lecture to the Divinity School)—Leonard J. Sanford, M.D. Room B, East Divinity Hall, 2 P. M.

Wednesday, October 10.—*Psychology* (University Lecture)—Professor Ladd. 194 Old Chapel 4 P. M.

Thursday, October 11.—*College Faculty Meeting*—7 Treasury Building, 4 P. M.

Friday, October 12.—*Berkeley Association* (Evening Prayer)—Room 89, Dwight Hall, 6.45 P. M.

Lectures in the Divinity School.—Leonard J. Sanford, M.D., late Professor in the Yale Medical School, will give a course of six lectures on the Preservation of Health, to the Students of the Divinity School in Lecture Room B (East Divinity Hall), on successive Mondays, at 2 P. M. beginning on Monday, Oct. 8.

CURRENT LITERATURE.

PRINCIPLE AND PRACTICE OF MORALITY.*—The design of this book is stated by the author in his preface as follows: "A new text-book on morals may justly be challenged to prove its right to appear in an already over-crowded community of similar treatises. The only answer that in this case can be given is, that the book has been made for a service which no one of its predecessors could be persuaded to render. It embodies the lectures its author has given to his classes in Ethics, and is, what it purports to be, distinctly a text-book. It touches existing controversies only so far as is necessary for the elucidation or defence of its positions. The aim has been to condense rather than to expand its discussions, and to diminish rather than multiply its pages.

"The extent of the discussion has been determined by the supposed need in each case. The need will doubtless be differently estimated by different writers. In the author's estimation no questions in the whole range of ethical discussions, and specially at the present stage of these discussions, are so fundamental as those of conscience, inclusive of the moral judgments, and the ultimate ground of moral obligation. All ethical questions resolve themselves, in the last analysis, into the question of conscience and the final ground of its decisions."

The book is divided into three parts: (1) The ascertainment and distribution of the essential principles of ethics; (2) A discussion of these principles, under the general name of Theoretic Morality; (3) Practical Morality. The second part is divided into four parts: (a) The Moral Faculty or Conscience; (b) Moral Law; (c) The Will; (d) Virtue and Theories of Virtue. The third part, as usual, is divided into three parts: (a) Duties to God; (b) Duties to One's self; (c) Duties to Fellow Beings.

(a) The author defines the moral faculty as "that rational power of the soul by which all distinctions of whatever kind are

* *Principle and Practice of Morality*; or, Ethical Principles Discussed and Applied. By EZEKIEL GILMAN ROBINSON, D.D., LL.D., President of Brown University. Boston: Silver, Rogers & Co., 1888.

perceived and judgments pronounced, and which is properly called moral only when the distinctions perceived are moral, and the judgments rendered are according to some recognized moral standard. It is the reason or whole rational being occupied with moral questions and giving some kind of moral decisions" (p. 29).

Dr. Robinson makes a distinction between moral faculty and conscience. The term *moral faculty* denotes "the soul's power to judge all kinds of moral acts, by whomsoever performed; *conscience*, the soul's power to judge its own acts and itself as the doer of them" (p. 31).

"Conscience is an original endowment of human nature—is an essential and constitutional part of personal being" (p. 54).

(b) He defines moral law as "that requirement or series of requirements in the moral nature of man which he must comply with or there can be for him no realization of the moral and ideal perfection of his being" (p. 89). It is not merely external statute. "As internal principle its (moral law) scope is in the very nature of rational being as such" (p. 91). And the design of moral law, as subjective requirement, is identical with the design or final cause of man's existence and as formal precept, is "to make known to man the constitutional principle of his moral being" (p. 97-8).

(c) "Will, as a faculty, may be defined as the soul's power to determine the extent and kind of its own action; as a function, it is the soul in movement" (p. 111). "By Freedom of the Will is meant the freedom of the personal being, or of the individual soul in the exercise of its volitional energy" (p. 122).

(d) "Virtue is the soul's or the will's persistency of compliance—its energy in complying with moral law; it is an acquired power of habitual conformity to all right and law" (p. 138). "As the terms are now commonly used morality relates rather to what man does than to what he in himself is; and virtue relates more to what he in himself is than to his outward acts; while righteousness covers the ground of both morality and virtue" (p. 139). The ultimate ground of obligation the author finds in the eternal nature of a Supreme Being (pp. 172-180).

The book is written in a clear, strong, and compact style. It can be read with benefit by those who are beginning the study of ethics. The author belongs to what is commonly known in ethics as the Intuitionist School.

RIKIZO NAKASHIMA.

BENNETT'S CHRISTIAN ARCHÆOLOGY.*—In the modest Preface to his work, Professor Bennett expresses his obligations to Dr. Piper, the veteran Berlin Professor in the branch to which the volume relates. Then follows an Introduction from the pen of Dr. Piper himself, which explains the design and scope of the science, and touches on its sources and advantages. The body of the volume is divided into four books. The First treats of the Archæology of Christian Art; the Second, of the Constitution and Government of the Early Christian Church; the Third, of the Sacraments and Worship of the Early Church; and the Fourth, of the Archæology of Christian Life. Church history, like secular history, has derived great profit of late from the investigation of monumental remains of antiquity. The results of these researches are embodied, in a lucid and methodical manner, in the volume before us. It does not confine itself to the information gained from visible monuments, such as coins, paintings, sculptures, edifices, etc. The literature of Christian antiquity has been explored and made to yield its treasures of knowledge on the many topics to which the volume relates. The pictorial illustrations elucidate the text. They include a map of Ancient Rome and of its environs. A catalogue of authorities and a good index are subjoined. Students of Church history have to thank Professor Bennett for the production of so instructive, interesting and—considering its limits—complete a survey of Christian antiquities. He writes with the candor that becomes a true scholar. On disputed points he expresses himself with due caution and with judicial fairness.

GEORGE P. FISHER.

HUMPHREY'S "SACRED HISTORY."†—This posthumous volume, based upon the author's lectures upon Sacred History, but fully written out in its present form by himself, will be welcomed by the many pupils and friends of this eminent divine. It treats the successive chapters of Genesis and Exodus with abundant learning, and in a conservative spirit which shows no taint from modern critical opinions. The merits of the book are to be estimated from the standpoint which it represents. The author's investiga-

* *Christian Archæology*. By CHARLES W. BENNETT, D.D., Professor of Historical Theology in Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Illinois. With an Introduction by Dr. F. Piper. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1888.

† *Sacred History from the Creation to the Giving of the Law*; by PROF. HUMPHREY, formerly of the Danville Theological Seminary. A. C. Armstrong & Son. New York, 1888. pp. 540.

tions do not go behind the popular views regarding the Pentateuchal literature. The book will, therefore, have little interest for those who are concerned with the critical literary problems which underlie the narratives with which Dr. Humphrey has dealt. But for those whose purpose is to make the acquaintance of early sacred history on its practical and theological side, this book will doubtless prove helpful and instructive.

GEO. B. STEVENS.

METHODS OF CHURCH WORK.*—There are undoubtedly many pastors who lack the ability or genius to devise methods by which to carry on the various work of a church; hence their ministry fails of the success which they covet. For all such this book will prove a desideratum. It covers comprehensively and thoroughly the entire field of church work, religious, social, and financial. The author has made use of the working plans of the most practical and successful pastors, some of them being given in detail. It is a book that every pastor and church officer would do well to examine.

THE BOOK OF GENESIS.†—This seems to be the first volume of a series to be called the "Expositor's Bible." The author, Dr. Dodds is a Presbyterian minister, of Glasgow, who recently presented a paper on "The duty of the Church toward the higher intellectual tendencies of the age" at the Pan-Presbyterian council, in which he favored meeting the intellectual demands of the higher educated classes.

In this book he has tried to do that, and is to be congratulated for the measure of success he has attained. His aim is thoroughly evangelical. He wishes to make a deep religious impression. To do this he unfolds the great truths found in Genesis, disentangling them from their form in the narrative and from the prejudice which has obscured them, and showing them in their purity and power. Each of the thirty-one chapters, covering the essential points of the book of Genesis, is really a complete sermon in itself and could have been delivered in any church with profit.

It is extraordinary to find an orthodox Presbyterian clergyman handling the account of creation in so free and confident a

* *Methods of Church Work.* By REV. SYLVANUS STALL, A.M. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

† *The Book of Genesis:* by MARCUS DODDS, D.D. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

manner as Dr. Dodds, who makes what some would call large concessions. He regards the author of Genesis as a compiler who "lays side by side two accounts of man's creation which no ingenuity can reconcile." He says "there is no evidence that inspired men were in advance of their age in the knowledge of physical facts and laws." So far as physical knowledge went, he finds little in the first two chapters which was new to the contemporaries of the writer. He believes the word "day" means twenty-four hours, and freely admits that the account of the order of creation "is irreconcilable with the teachings of science." But he believes the author was really inspired by the Holy Spirit in reference to spiritual knowledge, and that his knowledge of God's unity, creative power and connection with man, reacted upon his physical knowledge and prevented him from presenting an account unworthy of the supreme God, as the polytheists have done. God's connection with the universe and the place of man in creation are the two essential truths found in these early accounts. The account of the Fall he regards as a pictorial representation which is instructive to the wisest to-day, embodying as it does all the elements necessary to make the story complete. The Flood is supposed to be confined to the great plain of the Euphrates and Tigris. In the chapter on the Call of Abraham we find these pregnant words: "How he became aware that a divine command lay upon him we do not know. Nothing could persuade him that he was not commanded. Under the simple statement 'The Lord said unto Abram, Get thee out of thy country,' there are probably hidden years of questioning and meditation."

"God's revelation of himself to Abram in all probability did not take the determinate form of articulate command without having passed through many preliminary stages of surmise, doubt, and mental conflict." Abram was taught, in common with others, Sabbath observation, and was not the only one who had monotheistic ideas. "It was the heathen monarch, Pharaoh, who taught the father of the faithful his first lesson in God's holiness." Throughout the eighteenth chapter of Genesis "there is betrayed an inadequate conception of God." Dr. Dodds is, however, a strong supernaturalist and does not hesitate to express himself where it is demanded. The appearance of the angel at Mamre was God in human form.

That which characterizes the book and makes it especially interesting is the following :

He takes out of the old narratives their universal human elements and clothes them for modern use; he emphasizes the spiritual and minimizes the physical in any historical event, being anxious to get the inner meaning and caring but little for the form in which that meaning is held; he not only shows that a certain significance is in the narrative, but that it belongs there. The great truths thus discovered in what might seem to some a hard, mechanical, and not altogether trustworthy narrative assume such wide-reaching importance that we no longer trouble ourselves about the peculiar setting in which they are found. The most artificial events seem in his hands quite natural and in thorough accord with human nature.

There is nothing of the dogmatist in Dr. Dodds. His thought is vigorous and striking; his spiritual insight fine, and his religious and moral purpose exalted.

C. L. DRYEN.

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NEW ENGLANDER

AND

YALE REVIEW.

No. CCXXIV.

NOVEMBER, 1888.

ARTICLE I.—NATURALIZATION LAWS AND THEIR ENFORCEMENT.

I.

A GREAT national peril prompted the selection of this theme, and will control its treatment on the present occasion.

It would be highly entertaining to trace the history of the customs, laws, and edicts under which, in various countries, aliens have been admitted to more or less of the privileges of the native-born; and it would also be interesting to compare our naturalization laws with those which prevail in other lands, but the space at our command will only allow a consideration of the existing naturalization laws of the United States, their defects of provision and administration, and the means by which their amendment and better enforcement may be secured. The science of society is preëminently practical. To that science, even more than to the serene and saintly poet, "Life is real,

life is earnest ;"—so real and so earnest, that it cannot do otherwise than deal most attentively with the serious practical questions that life presents. It is not that the students of social science find in abstract science, literature, and art, a less exquisite charm than their devotees discover ; but it is because the earnest service of our fellow-men yields a nobler delight, and adds the greater compensation of satisfied duty, that we turn aside from the fountain-gladdened garden, to cultivate the waiting field.

II.

From the beginning of American civilization, aliens have been welcomed to this country, and since the establishment of the republic have been freely endowed with the rights and privileges of citizenship. And it is well, at the outset, to say that a just system of naturalization, properly applied, has become an indispensable incident of our free government. There is no question whether we shall have a naturalization law ; but there are very serious questions whether the provisions of the existing naturalization law are just, and have been properly applied. There is a widespread belief that the provisions of the law are very crude and defective, and that they have been carelessly, and sometimes recklessly administered.

Immigration to this country has been practically unrestricted ; and while it has brought vast benefits to the United States, it has by no means been a pure and unmixed good. If it has, for the most part, brought to us from other lands the innocent, the industrious, the self-supporting, the law-abiding, the healthful, and the intelligent ; it has also brought among us a terrible minority of paupers, criminals, and persons who are immoral, diseased, or insane. These dangerous classes are, at the same time, a constant menace to the peace and good order of society, a serious tax upon the public revenues, and an intolerable burden to the penal and charitable institutions of the country.

The statistics which establish these facts have been so fully collected and so widely published, that it is hardly necessary to recapitulate them here as a basis of judgment. On the existence of the essential facts public opinion may be regarded as settled.

Nevertheless, it may be well to note, in passing, that by the census of 1880, the population of the United States consisted of 43,475,840 natives, and 6,679,943 persons of foreign birth, making a total of 50,155,783. But while the native population was more than six and one-half times that of the alien-born, the proportion of insane was 26,346 of foreign-born to 65,651 of native-birth, making a total of 91,997. Of 67,067 paupers, 44,106, were natives, and 22,961 were of foreign birth; and of 59,255 prisoners, 12,917 were immigrants; and 46,338 were natives.—(Compend. Tenth Census, pp. 1671, 1675, 1676.)

Thus, less than one-sixth of the population furnished nearly a third of the insane, more than half of the paupers, and nearly a fourth of those committed to prison.

We do not object to foreigners as such, but we insist that the ratio of good and useful members of society, to those who are otherwise, should be increased.

There surely cannot be at this time any need of argument to show that the acknowledged evil of unworthy immigration ought to be, as far as practicable, restricted and decreased, if it cannot be wholly prohibited and removed. On this point also, the American people have reached a conclusion.

III.

The open questions are: Where does the responsibility for pernicious immigration and naturalization belong?

Is the fault in the provisions of the laws, or in their administration and enforcement, or in both? The evil being indisputable, we need to inquire its cause and what practical remedies can be provided and applied.

It is obvious that no alien person is worthy to be received as an inhabitant of this country who is unworthy to enjoy the rights and privileges of free institutions.

The two subjects of immigration and naturalization are so intimately related, that a proper consideration of either requires at least some passing references to the other.

The sub-foundation of our naturalization laws is the specification, in the Declaration of Independence, among other causes of the revolutionary war, that the King of Great Britain "has endeavored to prevent the population of these States, for that

purpose obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither; and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands."

It thus appears that among the original purposes of our free government were those of encouraging worthy inhabitants of other lands to seek new homes in this country; assume the rights and duties of citizenship, and become land-holders on favorable terms. When the people of the United States came to ordain and establish a constitution, in order to "form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty," they gave to their Congress the power to establish a uniform rule of naturalization throughout the United States.—(Con. U. S., Art. I., Sec. 8, paragraph 4.)

The constitution was adopted in convention, September 17, 1787. Its ratification by the necessary number of nine States, was completed June 21st, 1788. The national government was established by the first inauguration of Washington, and the abdication of the original confederacy of States, at New York, April 30, 1789.

The confederacy, by its so-called "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union," had no authority over the subject of naturalization. That power was retained by the States. Legislation on the subject of naturalization soon followed the adoption of the constitution. Acts relating to it were passed March 26, 1790; January 29, 1795; and July 6, 1798. These were experimental, and April 14, 1802, a more comprehensive statute was enacted, to regulate the whole subject and take the place of the former acts.

That act of 1802, with some amendments, has ever since remained in force, and constitutes the system of naturalization under which millions of aliens have become citizens of the United States.

By the census of 1880, there were in the United States 12,830,439 males of the voting age of twenty-one years and upwards; of whom 8,270,518 were native whites, 1,487,344 colored, including Chinese, Japanese, and Indians, and 3,072,487 were white persons of foreign birth.—(Compendium Tenth Census, 560.)

Let us now proceed to consider the nature and the provisions of the existing laws relating to the subject-matter of the present discussion. What are their leading purposes; what proceedings do they authorize; what conditions do they impose; and what prohibitions do they contain?

IV.

The Naturalization law of 1802, as amended from time to time to meet special emergencies, contains the following among other provisions. Such as have ceased to be operative under existing circumstances, and have therefore only a historic interest, will be omitted, or merely mentioned.

An alien may be admitted to become a citizen of the United States, in the following manner, and—adds the statute—*not otherwise*.

- First. *a.* At least two years prior to his admission,
b. he shall declare on oath,
c. before a circuit or district court of the United States;
d. or a district or supreme court of the territories;
e. or a court of record of any of the States, having common-law jurisdiction, and a seal and clerk,
f. or since Feb. 1, 1876, before the clerk of one of the said courts,
g. that it is *bona fide* his intention,
h. to become a citizen of the United States,
i. and to renounce forever all allegiance and fidelity,
j. to any foreign prince, potentate, State, or sovereignty; and particularly by name, to that of which the alien may be, at the time a citizen or subject.—(United States Revised Statutes, Sec. 2165; also act of Feb. 1, 1876.)

Under these provisions it is too clear for argument, that any court or officer, having the honor and welfare of the country at heart, would take pains to inquire of the applicant whether he understands the meaning of the terms used, the nature of the oath he proposes to take, and the objects of the law in requiring him to make and file the solemn declaration of his intent, so long before he can be admitted to citizenship.

It cannot rationally be presumed that an alien would understand those things, either by instinct or by revelation; neither

can it be seriously claimed that what the statute so clearly specifies, was intended to be a mere matter of form. On the contrary, it is manifest that the declaration on oath of the intention of an alien to become an American citizen, was expressly designed to put him upon his good behavior, and under tutelage, until he should be ready to take the next degree in the advance to the dignities and powers of citizenship. But as plain as the meaning of the law appears to be, we fear that those who have been accustomed to receive such declarations of intention, would be very much surprised by the assertion that it is their duty to inform the novitiate citizen—presumably ignorant of our institutions, and having in most cases but a limited knowledge of our language—what is the nature and purpose of the proceedings, and what the law will require of him when he shall come to make his application for admission to equal rights and privileges with the native-born.

Second. The statute next provides: *a.* That the alien shall, at the time of his application to be admitted, declare on oath,

b. before some one of the *courts* above specified,

c. that he will support the constitution of the United States;

d. And that he absolutely and entirely renounces and abjures all allegiance and fidelity to every foreign prince, potentate, State or sovereignty, and particularly, by name, to the prince, potentate, State or sovereignty of which he was before a citizen or subject.

e. The proceedings must be recorded by the clerk of the court.—(U. S. Revised Statutes, Sec. 2165.)

The oath to support the constitution of the United States, necessarily implies a sufficient knowledge of the provisions of the constitution to enable the applicant to understand the nature of the obligations and duties of citizenship which the oath binds him thereafter to perform. The two years required to elapse between the declaration of intention, and the application for admission to citizenship, are prescribed for the express purpose of having the applicant acquire the knowledge necessary for his further lawful advancement.

Third. The statute provides that it shall be made to appear,

a. to the satisfaction of the court admitting such alien,

b. that he has resided within the United States at least five

years; and since July 14, 1870, the term must have been continuous, and next preceding his admission;—(U. S. R. S., Sec. 2170.)

c. and that he has resided at least one year within the State or territory where the court is at the time held;

d. and that during that time he has behaved as a man of good moral character;

e. attached to the principles of the constitution of the United States;

f. and well-disposed to the peace and good order of the same;

g. but the oath of the applicant shall in no case be allowed to prove his residence.—(U. S. R. S., Sec. 2165; also act of July 14, 1870.)

v.

“Satisfaction of the court;” “behaved as a man of good moral character;” “attached to constitutional principles;” “well-disposed to the peace and good order of the United States,”—these are broad and comprehensive terms—what do they mean? How should they be interpreted and construed?

The settled rules for the determination of the true intent and meaning of constitutions and laws, answer these questions. Among those rules are the following:

a. It is not allowable to interpret what has no need of interpretation.

b. The intent of the law-making power must be upheld and enforced.

c. The previous condition of the law; the mischief and defect which the new enactment was intended to remedy; the nature of the relief provided; the reason for the adoption of that particular remedy,—all these matters should be duly considered, and then the judges should adopt such a construction as will best suppress the mischief, and advance the remedy.

d. The judges should also suppress cunning inventions and evasions for the continuance of the evil, and so construe and expound the new law, as to add force and life to the cure provided.

e. Words are generally to be understood in their most common and prevalent meaning; but technical terms of art or trade, in their technical sense.

f. All the parts of a law are to be construed harmoniously together; and different acts relating to the same general subject, are to be construed together, as parts of one law.

g. Any interpretation that would defeat the obvious purpose of the law, or lead to an absurdity, is to be strenuously avoided.—(Sedgwick's Statutory and Constitutional Law, Chapt. VI, and authorities cited.)

The power to naturalize aliens is not ministerial; it is judicial, and requires an examination into each case, sufficient to satisfy the court.—(In the matter of Clark, 18 Barbour, 444.)

The naturalization laws,—says Chief Justice Marshall, in *Spratt vs. Spratt*, 4 Peters, 407, decided by the Supreme Court of the United States in 1830,—submit the decision on the rights of aliens to admission as citizens, to the courts of record. They are to receive testimony, to compare it with the law, and to judge on both law and fact. The judgment is entered of record, as the judgment of the court. If it be in legal form, it closes inquiry, and is like every other judgment complete evidence of its own validity.

It had been previously decided that the record of the administration of the final oath of citizenship, was sufficient evidence of the compliance by the applicant with the various conditions precedent, because without proof of such compliance, the trial court would have no right to naturalize the alien.—*Campbell vs. Gordon*, 6 Cranch, 176; *Stark vs. Chesapeake Ins. Co.*, 7 Cranch, 420.

The proof of residence for five years in the United States, and one year in the State or territory, must be made by other witnesses than the applicant.

There is a fair implication that on other points his oath may be received or required; and it is the plain duty of the court to require such, and so much evidence on every question presented, as will satisfy the judicial judgment and conscience that the applicant is well and truly entitled to admission to all the rights, privileges, and immunities of citizenship.

In *Campbell vs. Gordon*, above cited, there is a suggestion that the proof of good behavior need only extend over the preceding two years, but the rules of construction would certainly warrant the court in requiring such proof to cover the full period of five years.

VI.

The judicial investigation of the fitness of the alien for citizenship should be conducted by the district attorney in cases in the United States courts, and by the corresponding officer in cases in the State tribunals. The presiding judge has no right to act as prosecutor or defendant. His business is to hear, and pronounce judgment.

That investigation should cover three important subjects.

a. The conduct and character of the applicant in their relations to the moral welfare of the community. If he should fail to show a uniform good behavior, during the time of his probation, he must fail for want of proof. While if any immoral conduct should appear, it would operate as a bar to the application.

b. Good character and conduct having been shown, the inquiry will next advance to an investigation of the intellectual qualification of the person who seeks advancement to the great privileges of American citizenship. Proof is now required to satisfy the court that the alien knows that there is such a thing as the constitution of the United States; that he knows at least the leading principles of the government established by it; and that he has become actually attached to those principles.

What is it to be attached to principles? It is to hold them in affectionate esteem. Having learned them, it is to love them. Lacking this proof, the alien has no right to admission; and if in truth he holds those principles in detestation, and would overturn them if he had the power, his admission to citizenship would be like the reception of a felon into the fold of the church.

c. But if the proof on that point be satisfactory, the patriotism of the alien must next be put to the test. He is now called upon, not to make a new promise, for that he will do when he takes the oath of citizenship, but to satisfy the court, by lawful evidence, of another fact, if it exist. He is also to show that he is well disposed; that is, truly devoted to the good order and happiness of the people of the United States. If he have that disposition, he will be a true friend of law, and order, and peace. He will be ready to unite with other good citizens in repressing all forms of disorder, and removing as far as may be, all causes of misery.

It does not seem to have been understood that every application for naturalization is a case in court, and should be conducted with all the dignity and conformity to law that ought to characterize other judicial proceedings. But it must be plain to every rational person who will examine the subject, that if the existing naturalization laws had only been faithfully expounded and applied, no criminal, no pauper, no insane person, no teacher of anarchy or breeder of disorder, could ever have obtained, through a naturalization trial, the rights and privileges of American citizenship.

It is self-evident that he who cannot read and write cannot intelligently take the oath of citizenship.

He who cannot support himself, cannot support the constitution of the United States.

He who is guilty of immoral or disorderly conduct, cannot be well-disposed to the peace and happiness of the country.

VII.

The fifth provision of the law relates to aliens residing in the United States before January 29, 1795; and the sixth to aliens residing here between June 18, 1798, and June 18, 1812.

Sec. 2166 of the Revised Statutes, provides that any alien over twenty-one years of age, who has served in the army of the United States, either in the regular or in the volunteer force, and has been honorably discharged, may be admitted to citizenship on proving those facts and one year's previous residence, instead of five, and showing that he is otherwise qualified according to law.

The next section provides that an alien who has resided in the United States for five years, three of which were before he attained his majority, may make the declaration of intention when he applies for admission; but in such a case he must also declare on oath, and prove to the satisfaction of the court, in addition to the other matters required by the law, that for two years next preceding, it has been his *bona fide* intention to become a citizen of the United States.

When an alien has made his declaration of intention, and dies before he is actually naturalized, his widow and children shall be considered citizens, and entitled to all rights and privileges as such, on taking the oaths prescribed by the law.

By an act in force Feb. 10, 1855, the marriage of a woman who might be lawfully naturalized, to a citizen of the United States, makes her a citizen without naturalization proceedings.

A woman may be naturalized, and if married the consent of her husband is not necessary.—(U. S. R. S., Sec. 2168, 1994; *Ex parte*, Pic. Cranch, C. C. 372. *Priest v. Cummings*, 16 Wendell, 617; 20 *Ibid.* 338.)

VIII.

It seems that as the law now stands, no Chinese, Japanese, or other Asiatic can be lawfully naturalized here. The law at first provided that an alien, "being a free white person, may be admitted," etc. The United States Statutes as revised to Dec. 1, 1873, omitted the words "being a free white person," under which omission any alien, on complying with the law, might have been admitted to citizenship. It had been provided by the act of July 14, 1870, that the naturalization law shall apply to "aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent." But these words did not restrict the right of other aliens.

So Feb. 18, 1875, an act became law, providing for the insertion of the words, "*being free white persons, and to aliens*,"—after the words "aliens," in the clause last given, thereby limiting the right to be naturalized, to whites and Africans.

In the later editions of the Revised Statutes, the amendments appear, with marginal references. The revision of 1873 having been completed, was certified, published, and took effect, Feb. 22, 1875, as was required by the act of June 20, 1874. Thus the amendment of 1875 seems to have taken effect four days before the revision from which the omission was made. But a court, with a copy of the first edition of the Revised Statutes before it, would find no apparent obstacle to the naturalization of an alien from China or Japan; while from a later edition, the intention to forbid the naturalization of the Asiatic races would seem to be clear.

But as late as May 6, 1882, Congress seems to have entertained the idea that Chinese aliens might be lawfully naturalized, for on that date, an act to restrict Chinese immigration was approved, of which Section 14 is as follows: "Hereafter, no State court, or court of the United States shall admit Chinese

to citizenship, and all laws in conflict with this act, are hereby repealed."

July 19, 1888, a bill to restrict the privilege of naturalization was introduced in the United States Senate, providing, among other things, that the applicant must be able to read and write the English language; and that no naturalized person shall exercise the right of suffrage, within one year after his admission to citizenship.

June 25, 1888, United States District Judge Deady, of Oregon, decided, in a case before him, that a child, born in the United States of Chinese parents, is a citizen thereof, both at common law, and under the Fourteenth Amendment of the National Constitution.—(35 Federal Reporter, 354.)

July 5, 1884, Congress suspended Chinese immigration for ten years. Feb. 26, 1885, it prohibited the importation of alien laborers under contract of employment; and March 3, 1887, it forbade the future acquisition of land by aliens, or by corporations of which more than twenty-five per cent. of the capital stock is held by foreigners.

But those persons cannot vote. If they could, every political pirate whose black flag sails the turbulent seas of partisan strife would oppose such legislation, and if made, would seek to compass its nullification by non-enforcement and fraud.

IX.

No alien who is a native citizen or subject, or a denizen of any country, State or sovereignty with which the United States is at war at the time of his application, shall then be admitted to become a citizen thereof.—(U. S. R. S. Sec., 2171.)

The children of persons duly naturalized, are citizens. So also are the children of citizens, though born out of the United States. An alien seaman, having declared his intention, and having subsequently thereto served three years on board of a merchant vessel of the United States, may be admitted to citizenship on producing before the court a certificate of discharge and his good conduct, during the three years.—(U. S. R. S., Sec. 2172, 2174.)

X.

By the act of March 1, 1875, all citizens of the United States have the same right in every State and territory thereof, as is

enjoyed by white citizens thereof, to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold or convey real and personal property.—(U. S. R. S., Sec. 1978.)

So the naturalization of an alien gives him something more than the right to vote and hold office. It also gives him the right to deal in land throughout the republic. Nor is that all. It also crowns him with the great right to be protected by the national power. For by the act of Congress of July 27, 1868, it is declared that all naturalized citizens of the United States, while in foreign countries, are entitled to, and shall receive from this Government, the same protection of person and property which is accorded to native-born citizens.—(U. S. R. S., Sec. 2000.)

It is thus a serious matter for the United States to adopt an alien and make him a citizen. By so doing it gives him the right to invoke even war, if need be, for his proper protection throughout the world.

XI.

In commenting on the constitutional grant of power over the subject, Mr. Justice Story, in his *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States*, published in 1833, says: "The propriety of confiding the power to establish a uniform rule of naturalization, to the national government, seems not to have occasioned any doubt or controversy in the convention. Under the confederation, the States possessed the sole authority to exercise the power; and the dissimilarity of the systems in different States, was generally admitted as a prominent defect, and laid the foundation of many delicate and intricate questions. As [~~under the confederacy~~], the free inhabitants of each state were entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in all the other States, [as they now are under the Union,] it followed that a single state possessed the power of forcing into every other State, with the enjoyment of every immunity and privilege, any alien whom it might choose to incorporate into its own society, however repugnant such admission might be to their polity, conveniences, and even prejudices. In effect every State possessed the power of naturalizing aliens in every other State; a power as mischievous in its nature as it was indiscreet in its actual exercise. In one State residence for a short time

might, and did confer the rights of citizenship. In others, qualifications of greater importance were required. An alien therefore incapacitated for the possession of certain rights by the laws of the latter, might by a previous residence and naturalization in the former, elude at pleasure all their salutary regulations for self-protection. Thus the laws of a single State were preposterously rendered paramount to the laws of all others, even within their own jurisdiction." "There is great wisdom, therefore," adds Judge Story, "in confiding to the national government the power to establish a uniform rule of naturalization throughout the United States. It is of the deepest interest to the whole union to know who are entitled to enjoy the rights of citizens in each State, since they thereby in effect become entitled to the rights of citizens in all the States. If aliens might be admitted, indiscriminately, to enjoy all the rights of citizens, at the will of a single State, the union might itself be endangered by an influx of foreigners, hostile to its institutions, ignorant of its powers and incapable of a due estimate of its privileges."

"It follows from the very nature of the power," he adds, "that it must be exclusive; for current power in the State would bring back all the evils and embarrassments which the uniform rule of the constitution was designed to remedy."—(Story, *Con. U. S.*, Sec. 1103, 1104.)

In *Chirac v. Chirac*, 2 Wheaton R. 259, A. D. 1817, the Supreme Court hold that the national jurisdiction is exclusive.

We have cited so fully the wise views of the great Judge Story, because the country has been deluged by the evils he depicts, notwithstanding the transfer of the right of naturalization from the States to the national government, and the enactment of an excellent national law upon the subject. Giving the State courts authority to naturalize aliens, put it into their power to defeat the purposes of the law, by—to state it mildly—a careless and inconsiderate administration of its provisions.

More than that, by granting jurisdiction to tribunals over which the general government could not exercise any practical control, the way was opened for the wholesale violations of the naturalization law that have been witnessed in some of the great cities, where what should always be a solemn and deliberate judicial inquiry and judgment, has degenerated into the merest mock-

ery of a trial by the law and the evidence, under which many thousands of aliens, without a serious pretence of the most important qualifications required by the law,—to use an expressive phrase of the day for extraordinary acceleration,—have been “railroaded” into American citizenship, for the purpose of using their votes to turn the scale in some unscrupulous political contest, conducted by partisans so destitute of conscience, honor, and patriotism, that they would not scruple to traffic in perjury, and make merchandise of the great rights and privileges of citizenship, in their efforts to secure success.

XII.

In deciding the application of John Clark, in the Supreme Court of New York, in 1854, Judge Dean said he had learned that it had for many years been the practice for the clerk of the court to receive and pass upon all applications for naturalization, and grant certificates, without consulting the court; and that the proof on which aliens were admitted to citizenship did not ordinarily meet any one of the requirements of the statute. He ordered the practice stopped, and directed that all such applications be submitted to the court. In the cases then pending, he found that not one of the applicants could furnish the required proof of residence, character, or good conduct. In the course of his opinion, he also said: It was never intended that persons who had been transported for crime; or who came here merely because Europe was too full for them, but who retained their loyalty of feeling for the monarchies they had left, should, because they remained here for a period of five years, be entitled to citizenship. The intention was to permit those who came here from abroad, seeking a permanent home, and who, by five years of continuous residence, had manifested that intention; and by good behavior, *during all that time*, and an attachment to republican principles, both of which could be proved to the satisfaction of the court, had shown themselves worthy to be the recipients of the benefits to be derived from citizenship, and safe depositories of the powers it confers, to be admitted thereto by an order entered in open court, after an examination into the facts of each case, and a judicial decision upon the

application, with the same care, deliberation, and solemnity that should accompany every other judicial act. *Those courts which, instead of administering this law, have by their negligence and inattention practically repealed it, admitting thousands to the rights of citizenship, who want all the requirements to entitle them to such admission, have been guilty of a gross violation of public duty, and have made the law itself odious in public estimation.*—(In the matter of Clark, 18 Barbour, 444.)

These strong and truthful words seem to have had little effect to stay the turbulent tide of unlawful naturalizations in the great cities of the country. The admonitions of Judge Dean need to be repeated far and wide, and to be emphasized with vigorous and unsparing comment.

XIII.

President Grant, in his sixth annual message, in 1874, referred to the abuses of our naturalization laws, and said :

“Frequent instances are brought to the attention of the government, of illegal and fraudulent naturalization, and of the unauthorized use of certificates thus improperly obtained. In some cases the fraudulent character of the naturalization has appeared upon the face of the certificate itself; in others, examination discloses the fact that the holder had not complied with the law; and in others, certificates have been obtained where the persons holding them, not only were not entitled to be naturalized, but had not been within the United States at the time of the pretended naturalization. Instances of each of these classes of fraud are discovered at our legations, where the certificates of naturalization are presented, either for the purpose of obtaining passports, or in demanding the protection of the legation. When the fraud is apparent on the face of such certificates, they are taken up by the representatives of the government, and forwarded to the Department of State. But even then the record of the court in which the fraudulent naturalization occurred, remains, and duplicate certificates are readily obtainable.

The fraud sometimes escapes notice, and such certificates are not infrequently used in transactions of business, to the deception and injury of innocent parties. Without placing any

additional obstacles in the way of the obtainment of citizenship by the worthy and well-intentioned foreigner who comes in good faith to cast his lot with ours, I earnestly recommend," added President Grant, "further legislation to punish fraudulent naturalization, and to secure the ready cancellation of the record of every naturalization made in fraud."

In his eighth annual message, in 1876, President Grant renewed his recommendations, and added the following observations:

"These provisions are needed in aid, and for the protection of honest citizens of foreign birth, and for the want of which they are made to suffer, not infrequently. The United States has insisted upon the right of expatriation, and has obtained, after a long struggle, an admission of the principles contended for, by acquiescence therein on the part of many foreign powers, and by the conclusion of treaties on that subject. It is, however, but justice to the governments to which such naturalized citizens formerly owed allegiance, as well as to the United States, that certain fixed and definite rules should be adopted, governing such cases, and providing how expatriation may be accomplished. While emigrants in large numbers become citizens of the United States, it is also true that persons, both native-born and naturalized, either by formal acts, or as the effect of a series of facts and circumstances, abandon their citizenship, and cease to be entitled to the protection of the United States, but continue, on convenient occasions, to assert a claim to protection."

Although the executive has no authority over the judicial record of naturalization, Mr. Fish, as Secretary of State in 1877, declared that "whenever the government is called upon for its interposition in a foreign State, on behalf of a person claiming to be a naturalized citizen, the question whether, under all the facts presented by him, intervention should be accorded, is always open for consideration."

The practice of the Government has been in accord with this position. Of course all matters subsequent to the record of naturalization, such as abandonment, estoppel, acquiring a new citizenship in another country, are open to inquiry whenever an application for a passport or for protection is made.

In the case of McCoppin, reported in 5 Sawyer, 630, Mr. Justice Field of the Supreme Court of the United States, says: "Undoubtedly the court might, in a proper case, set aside its judgment admitting a party to citizenship, if the party was not at the time entitled to admission, and the court had reason to believe that it had been intentionally deceived."

XIV.

July 14, 1870, an act of Congress was approved, to punish offences against the public welfare, in the matter of naturalizations. It provides penalties of fine, imprisonment, and hard labor for forgeries, false personations, counterfeiting and antedating in naturalization proceedings, and for the use of any certificate of citizenship obtained by fraud or by the other offences specified. Voting by means of any unlawful certificate of naturalization is made a felony, and all persons aiding in the commission of the crimes defined in the act, are declared principals, and punishable accordingly.—(U. S. R. S., Sections 5424-5427.

Section 5428 is as follows: "Every person who knowingly uses any certificate of naturalization heretofore granted by any court, or hereafter granted, which has been, or may be procured by fraud or by false evidence, or has been or may be issued by the clerk, or any other officer of the court, without any appearance and hearing of the applicant in court, and without lawful authority; and every person who falsely represents himself to be a citizen of the United States, without having been duly admitted to citizenship, for any fraudulent purpose whatever, shall be punishable by a fine of not more than one thousand dollars, or be imprisoned not more than two years, or both."

The next section extends the act to all proceedings had, taken, or attempted in any court having jurisdiction of naturalization cases.

The existence of this act is calculated to excite surprise, because no serious attempt to give it a wide and efficient enforcement, seems ever to have been made. The evils it was intended to meet and check are the most notorious that disgrace the administration of justice in this country. The facts are comparatively easy of ascertainment. Why then has this law been

so neglected? For the same reason that the naturalization law was persistently disregarded, and openly violated. If vigorously enforced, this penal law would strike with crushing blows the banditti of political Benedict Arnolds who constitute in so many of our large cities, the controlling balance of political power. American liberty is in no danger from any open foe; but it nourishes in its own households broods of political conspirators who deem all crimes justifiable, or at least excusable, if they only contribute to party success. To the influence of those conspirators are due the frequent and flagrant violations of the laws enacted to protect the priceless privileges of American citizenship. As those conspirators neither "fear God, nor regard man," there is but one efficient mode of dealing with them,—the mode of the penal law. The Law and Order Leagues are right, "THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE LAWS IS THE SUPREME QUESTION OF THE DAY." But the laws will not enforce themselves. If the people really want the laws enforced, they must themselves enforce them.

XV.

It is time to stop playing with the Greek fire of criminal citizenship. It is time to declare and wage a bold, determined and relentless war of extermination against the great evils that threaten our civilization. What remedies can we invoke?

First.—The beginning of Reform is Agitation. The public conscience must be aroused; public opinion must be formed and put in motion; and then public action will follow. The great organs of public opinion are the pulpit and the press. The first addresses the attentive ear, the second the attentive eye. We must appeal to both for their aid, which is indispensable to success.

Second.—The next step forward, is the formation of Law and Order Leagues, at leading points throughout the country, to aid and assist the public authorities in the specific work of enforcing the naturalization laws. When public officers, and the people generally, are guilty of gross neglect in the enforcement of any important law, the occasion calls for volunteers to render the high patriotic service of reviving the power of the law, and putting it once more in efficient operation. Any citi-

zen may make complaint of any violation of the penal law, and few public officers will take the risk of refusing to act, when legally called upon to do so. The actual experience of Law and Order Leagues in enforcing the liquor laws, during the last ten years, affords ample evidence that the naturalization laws can also be enforced.

Third.—Judges who still persist in grossly violating the naturalization laws, should be respectfully warned of their duty in that behalf, and if they fail to heed such warning, and still continue to grant unlawful naturalizations, proceedings for removal or impeachment should be promptly commenced, and vigorously prosecuted to conclusion. But it is not at all probable that any such proceedings would actually be required. Only let it be known that the people are organized and determined, and the laws will surely be enforced.

Fourth.—Earnest appeals should be sent to Congress for more stringent and comprehensive legislation.

(a.) All naturalization cases should be commenced by petition, setting out the facts; and should be put upon a docket like other cases; and should be regularly called and tried.

(b.) The public prosecutor should be required to attend the trial and protect the interests of the government and the people. In case of his inability, a proper person should be appointed by the court to perform that duty.

(c.) No naturalized person should be permitted to vote, or serve as a juror, before the expiration of a specified term after admission to citizenship. That term should be such that no political bandit would take the risk of paying the expenses of naturalization, as the purchase-price of the vote of the new citizen, at the next election.

(d.) The law should require that all the evidence should be preserved in writing, and that if the record does not show a compliance with all the conditions prescribed by law, no judgment shall be rendered in favor of the applicant; and that if rendered in such a case, it shall at any future time or term when the attention of the court shall be called to the matter, be vacated and annulled, unless the defect or omission shall be supplied.

(e.) The law should also provide that any time within five

years next after the completion of the naturalization, it may be annulled for fraud duly alleged and proved, although the papers and record may purport to show a perfect compliance with the law.

XVI.

Thus the matter stands. If the great American experiment of constitutional liberty shall permanently endure, it will, in the fullness of time, so influence the human race throughout the world, that the reign of the people will be everywhere substituted for the reign of kings; and the government of justice everywhere take the place of despotic rule. But to achieve such glorious results, the fountain of freedom must be purified, and kept pure, the defilement of citizenship by imported pauperism, ignorance, disorder, and crime, must cease.

In the name of the American People we warn the political leaders of to-day that violations of the naturalization laws must not continue, and that all the laws for the protection of society and the promotion of the general welfare must be obeyed.

Law and Order must be supreme.

If existing agencies shall continue to sacrifice the true interests of the people to personal ends and party aggrandizement, those agencies will be broken to pieces by the mighty hammer of Thor, and new ones called into active service by the victory-giving Odin, on whose great shoulders sit the ravens of Thought and Memory, to admonish him of the doings of men that need his attention.

But higher than Thor or Odin,—higher than ancient myth or modern hero, let us lift our eyes. If any purpose of God may safely be declared by man, it is that of finally blessing the human race with the inestimable boon of religious liberty. But such liberty can neither be achieved nor preserved, without that civil liberty of which the republic of the United States is the living embodiment, and the one entirely successful example in human history. To preserve, defend and perpetuate that republic, is therefore a sacred duty, both to God, the Supreme Governor of the nations, and to man, for whose protection and service all just governments exist. The discharge of that high duty will require, not only the faithful enforcement of the existing naturalization laws, with the proposed amendments; it

will also require, what the limits of this occasion do not permit to be described, a thorough and radical reform of the foreign service, to promote the best immigration and prevent the worst. To accomplish those and other needed reforms, the American people must realize that by far the most important business of a free people, is the business of government. It is an old truth that the price of liberty is vigilance; yet if that truth were a new revelation, there could scarcely be a greater need of its earnest promulgation.

XVII.

But the opening hymns of a great revival of law and order have already reached the listening ear of Constitutional Liberty, and her radiant face bears the glory of a new hope. Her clear vision pierces the future, and coming events cast, not their shadows, but their splendors before. She beholds the approach of a higher and nobler citizenship; a purer and more exalted patriotism; a more adequate and efficient justice, attended by all the other virtues that flourish under the benignant skies of civil and religious liberty. In the near future, that citizenship and patriotism, and justice will possess the land, and the laws of the country will not only be enacted, they will also be obeyed.

In that day the passport from alienage to American citizenship will consist of evidence of health, virtue, industry, intelligence, a sincere love of free institutions, and an earnest desire to become truly American, in language, sentiment, and conduct. All who come, bearing that passport, will find the law-guarded gates of the republic ajar; and when, after due preparation they approach the temple of justice for admission to such high privileges and immunities as no other government bestows, they will hear from the American people only words of congratulation and welcome. And then when the new-made citizen goes out from the temple of justice, to take his place among the sovereigns of the land, and lifts his eyes in thanksgiving to the sky, touched here and there by school-dome and church-spire, he will realize that only in the republic of civil and religious liberty can he expect to find the highest national glory, and the greatest individual freedom and prosperity; and however dear to him may be the land of his birth, he will feel

for the country that has not only adopted him as one of its children, but has also made him one of its rulers, a warmer admiration and a deeper love.

Living, he should serve that country with fidelity and zeal; dying he should bless it and commend it to his posterity; charging them to obey its laws, to uphold its institutions, and if necessary to give even their lives for its defence. Even more than that of the native born, should the heart of the adopted citizen burn with patriotic fervor, and glow with unfeigned gratitude. For while the great and glorious privileges of American citizenship are the birth-right of the native, they are the transcendent gift of the nation to the alien-born. We may therefore justly look to our worthy naturalized fellow-citizens, for the heartiest coöperation and aid in our efforts to protect those privileges, and defeat and punish all who try to obtain them by fraud and perjury.

XVIII.

Reform and Enforcement of the naturalization laws has at last become a living question in American politics. It commands the attention of the country, and will not disappear till satisfactory results shall have been accomplished. Political leaders will do well to heed the signs of the times. Small and distant as the cloud on the horizon now appears, it carries the thunder-bolts of a great public indignation, and if crimes against citizenship shall not be diligently suppressed, the cloud will finally become a tempest and purify the political air.

The laws must be obeyed. Those who willfully violate them must be punished. Good citizens must be protected. The next war-cry of the American people will be—THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE LAWS!

C. C. BONNEY.

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ARTICLE II.—SCHOPENHAUER AND OMAR KHAYYAM.

Nothing strikes one more forcibly in reading Schopenhauer's philosophy than the splendid consistency of his pessimism. It is rare, indeed, that one finds a writer who has the courage and the candor seriously to elaborate a whole system of thought, logically leading up to the conclusion that the world is absolutely the worst possible. Jonathan Swift was a consistent pessimist, both in his writings and in his life; he regularly kept his birthday as a day of fasting and mourning; but Swift has left no philosophical system. Carlyle often spoke like a pessimist, but his pessimism was not inseparably connected with the order of the world; it sprang simply from a belief that the tendency of the age was bad. A great many writers are pessimists—or think they are—in times of special misfortune, or when absorbed in unusual trains of thought. Lyrical poetry is often pessimistic, because it is so often the outcome of a melancholy mood, or the expression of unsatisfied yearning. In a general acquaintance with Shakspeare's plays, we should never class him as a pessimist; but some of his sonnets are steeped in pessimism. Perhaps there is no one, who has not at some time, for a long or short interval, been a pessimist; who has not keenly felt what the Germans call *Weltschmerz*; but the peculiar characteristic of Schopenhauer is that he is a pessimist in cold blood. His system is just the reverse of that of Carlyle, who cried out against the age and the men of the age, but who believed in a beneficent order of the universe and in the divine potentiality of human nature; it is altogether different from the pessimism of the Book of Ecclesiastes, which recognizes the vanity and suffering of life, but finds the key to the mystery in fearing God and keeping his commandments. Schopenhauer's pessimism is coldly philosophical, one might almost say mathematical. Except in places where he flings mud at the professors of philosophy, his book nowhere sounds like the tone of a disappointed, soured old man; the writer is evidently in calm equipoise, in perfect possession of his wits. We can easily

imagine him seated before a warm fire, with his dressing gown and slippers on, placidly writing off his theory that the world is a mirror of hell; that life and suffering mean the same thing; that consciousness is the grand mistake of nature; that human existence is a tragedy, with the dignity of tragedy taken away. His temperament may be well described in the words of a biographer of John Randolph: "His was a nature that would have made a hell for itself even if fate had put a heaven around it." The relative goodness and badness of men does not affect Schopenhauer's pessimism. He would say that human character has little enough good in it, but even if it had ten times the amount it possesses, it could attain to no more happiness. The world is so constituted as to make existence in it constant pain; it is but the manifestation of a blind will, which multiplies itself in millions of forms, each one appearing but a short time, and then expiating the crime of its existence by death. It is far better not to be; before our sad eyes stands only the nothingness from which we came into the light; and this nothingness must be the goal of our highest endeavor. Schopenhauer's ethical solution is therefore a complete denial of the will to live; the only way of salvation is to escape from one's self; in asceticism one finds, not indeed happiness, but a calm contemplation of existence and a worthy preparation for the heaven of Nirvana.

It is interesting to compare Schopenhauer's system and its ethical solution with the philosophy and teaching of Omar Khayyam, the astronomer-poet of Persia. Both men are greater in literature than they are in philosophy. Schopenhauer's poetic style, with its musical sadness, with its flexibility of movement and brilliancy of illustration, with its sparkling wit and its solemn earnestness, makes him one of the greatest of the prose writers of Germany; and Omar has contrived to clothe his shallow creed in such a garment of poetic beauty, as to make the body within seem infinitely more stately and imposing than it would appear, if stripped of all adornment. Both writers are complete pessimists in their views of the world; both are fatalists, believing in the absolute despotism of destiny; both believe that the soul of man departs into the voiceless night from which it came. A comparison of their

writings will show how closely akin they are in their views of the order of the world. Now, with ideas so similar, it is strange enough to notice that their ethical solutions of the problem are diametrically and totally opposed. Schopenhauer says: "You must escape from yourself by asceticism, by denying the will to live." Omar says, "You must escape from yourself by plunging recklessly into the pleasures of life."

Both Schopenhauer and Omar Khayyam were able to lead independent intellectual lives; each had a sufficient income, which left him free to devote his time to thought. This was probably a misfortune in the case of both men. As many a man is an atheist with a brilliant book in his hand, and a theist as soon as he mingles with others in the active work of life—so men are pessimists in solitary hours when they contemplate the stage of life, and witness what appears to be a great tragedy enacted; it is only when one lives his individual life in contact with others that his pessimism forsakes him, and his life assumes some significance and importance.

Omar Khayyam was born in the latter half of the eleventh century, and the story of his life reads like a romance. When a youth, he agreed with his two most intimate friends, that whichever of them became rich should divide his property equally with the others. One of them became Vizier, and Omar asked simply for a competence, that he might spend his life in intellectual pursuits. His friend did not turn from him in scorn, as we might expect from the romantic consistency of the narrative thus far, but cheerfully granted his modest request; and Omar became a devotee of science and philosophy, giving special attention to astronomy, in which he became the foremost scholar of his time. He must have been a man who took the keenest delight in the intellectual life; yet we find his philosophy simply a poetic version of "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." This is what he says of his early life:

"Myself when young did eagerly frequent
Doctor and Saint, and heard great argument
About it and about: but evermore
Came out by the same door wherein I went.

With them the seed of wisdom did I sow,
And with my own hand wrought to make it grow:
And this was all the harvest that I reaped—
'I came like water, and like wind I go.'

He seems to have been utterly baffled by the ultimate mysteries of life; to have lost heart before the great enigmas he could not solve, and so to have fled away from himself and from his torturing doubts into a life of gross and sensual pleasure. Perhaps, however, he did this only on paper; as Schopenhauer was a saint only in print. Schopenhauer condemns sensual pleasure.

“He shows the steep and thorny way to heaven,
Whiles, like a puffed and reckless libertine,
Himself the primrose path of dalliance treads,
And recks not his own rede.”

So Omar, while telling us that the *summum bonum* is wine and women, may have lived a severely intellectual life.

The three questions which every thoughtful man asks, What am I? Why am I? Where am I going? were ones to which Omar could find no answer.

“Into this universe, and why not knowing,
Nor whence, like water willy-nilly flowing;
And out of it, as wind along the waste,
I know not whither, willy-nilly blowing.

“Yesterday this day’s madness did prepare;
To-morrow’s silence, triumph, or despair:
Drink! for you know not whence you came, nor why;
Drink! for you know not why you go, nor where.”

His philosophy amounts to this: We find ourselves in a world full of physical delights, but which is a complete enigma. By the highest part of our nature we are driven to questionings, which lead us into the darkness and leave us there. When we begin to ask about our origin and destiny, we find we can know absolutely nothing; the past and the future are both blanks; all we know is that the life we enjoy now is short; that we have opportunities for positive pleasure of the senses; these must be seized to-day, or lost perhaps forever. The wise man will grasp them while he has the power, instead of laying up treasures in an impossible heaven beyond the grave.

To a mind whose religious faith has never been shaken, such a doctrine as Omar’s seems utterly contemptible and inexplicable, coming from so profound a scholar; one must have tasted for himself the bitterness of skepticism, before he can

have any charity for the Persian poet. Let us glance for a moment at Schopenhauer's picture of life, to compare it with Omar's:

"It is really incredible how meaningless and void of significance when looked at from without, how dull and unenlightened by intellect when felt from within, is the course of the life of the great majority of men. Every individual, every human being and his course of life, is but another short dream of the endless spirit of nature, of the persistent will to live; is only another fleeting form, which it carelessly sketches on its infinite page, space and time. And yet, and here lies the serious side of life, every one of these fleeting forms, these empty fancies, must be paid for by the whole will to live, in all its activity, with many and deep sufferings, and finally with a bitter death, long feared and coming at last. This is why the sight of a corpse makes us suddenly so serious."

Omar says:

"The worldly hope men set their hearts upon
Turns ashes—or it prospers; and anon,
Like snow upon the desert's dusty face,
Lighting a little hour or two, is gone.

For some we loved, the loveliest and the best
That from his vintage rolling time has prest,
Have drunk their cup a round or two before,
And one by one crept silently to rest.

Ah, make the most of what we yet may spend,
Before we too into the dust descend;
Dust into dust, and under dust, to lie,
Sans wine, sans song, sans singer and sans end!

Yet ah, that spring should vanish with the rose!
That youth's sweet-scented manuscript should close!
The nightingale that in the branches sang
Ah whence, and whither flown again, who knows!

Ah Love! could you and I with Him conspire
To grasp this sorry scheme of things entire,
Would not we shatter it to bits—and then
Remould it nearer to the heart's desire!"

This view of life, looking upon it as a vain, empty dream, is something like the position taken by the melancholy Jacques in Shakspeare's "As you like it."

Schopenhauer regards the individual as of little or no consequence, being merely a perishable form of the manifestation of

the eternal Will in nature, the latter alone being immortal. Compare this with what Omar says :

“ Why, if the soul can fling the dust aside,
And naked on the air of heaven ride,
Were 't not a shame—were 't not a shame for him
In this clay carcase crippled to abide ?
’Tis but a tent, where takes his one-day’s rest
A Sultan to the realm of death address ;
The Sultan rises, and the dark Ferrásh
Strikes, and prepares it for another guest.
And fear not lest Existence closing your
Account, and mine, should know the like no more ;
The Eternal Sáki from that bowl has poured
Millions of bubbles like us, and will pour.”

Both writers are thus pessimists in their view of the world ; it is a puppet-show where each figure is moved by an unseen hand, though thinking all the time that it has some individual importance. Schopenhauer says life is a soap-bubble, “ which we blow out as long and as large as possible, although we know perfectly well that it will burst.”

Both are absolute fatalists ; each believes in some force which is the ground of the world of things, and which works itself out regardless of the human race ; blind and deaf to all human cries of agony and pain ; inevitable and inexorable ; of which man is but the plaything. Fatalism rules the world and the actions of men ; and why keep pressing upon ourselves questions we cannot answer, and which always plunge us into despair ? Why struggle childishly when bound with chains ? Why trouble ourselves with conscience, when we are nothing but clay in the hands of the potter ?

Listen to Schopenhauer :

“ It holds good of inward as of outward circumstances that there is for us no consolation so effective as the complete certainty of unalterable necessity. No evil that befalls us pains us so much as the thought of the circumstances by which it might have been warded off. Therefore nothing comforts us so effectually as the consideration of what has happened from the standpoint of necessity, from which all accidents appear as tools in the hand of an over-ruling fate, and we therefore recognize the evil that has come to us as inevitably produced by the conflict of inner and outer circumstances ; in other words, fatalism.”

Compare this with Omar :

" We are no other than a moving row
Of magic shadow-shapes that come and go
Round with this sun-illumined lantern held
In midnight by the Master of the show ;

Impotent pieces of the game he plays
Upon this chequer-board of nights and days ;
Hither and thither moves, and checks, and slays,
And one by one back in the closet lays.

The moving finger writes ; and, having writ,
Moves on ; nor all your piety and wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a line,
Nor all your tears wash out a word of it.

And that inverted bowl they call the sky,
Where under, crawling, cooped, we live and die,
Lift not your hands to *It* for help—for *It*
As impotently rolls as you or I."

Up to this point, we have found the views of both philosophers very similar ; but upon coming to their ethical solution, to their practical teaching as a result of their theory, we find them as far apart as the east is from the west.

Schopenhauer says the problem is to escape from personality, from self-hood, from the domination of will ; and strangely enough he makes this retreat possible only through the intellect, by means of that very consciousness which he says is the mistake of our being ; men of genius are freed at intervals from the will, because of the high order of their intellects, which permits them to be lost in æsthetic contemplation of the Universals, the Platonic Ideas ; to attain to this state of blessedness, all willing and striving for pleasure must be absolutely abandoned ; it is only as one contemplates himself in the third person that he finds any respite from suffering. The wise man will cut off everything that connects him with the world, will resolutely sacrifice all his longings for happiness, and by the example of saints and martyrs, will endeavor to become as unworldly and impersonal as they. This is the way of salvation according to Schopenhauer ; this is the only plan to overcome the world.

Omar would have us do something quite the opposite of this ; in fact, it is just this ascetic principle which he condemns. He

wishes also to escape from self, but in a different sense; it is to escape from self-introspection, from philosophic meditation, from the subjective life. No answer but a pessimistic one can be given to those questions which the human mind is forever most eagerly asking. Increase of knowledge increaseth sorrow. Why throw away our little space of time, by spending it in sorrowful, anxious pursuit of abstractions that always elude our grasp? the positive pleasures of life are before us. To see the difference between the teaching of these two pessimists, let us compare two selections.

First, from Schopenhauer :

“ True salvation, deliverance from life and suffering, cannot even be imagined without complete denial of the will. . . . If we turn our glance from our own needy and embarrassed condition to those who have overcome the world, in whom the will, having attained to perfect self-knowledge, found itself again in all, and then freely denied itself and who then merely wait to see the last trace of it vanish with the body which it animates; then, instead of the restless striving and effort, instead of the constant transition from wish to fruition, and from joy to sorrow, instead of the never-satisfied and never-dying hope which constitutes the life of the man who wills, we shall see that peace which is above all reason, that perfect calm of the spirit, that deep rest, that inviolable confidence and serenity, the mere reflection of which in the countenance, as Raphael and Correggio have represented it, is an entire and certain gospel; only knowledge remains, the will has vanished.”

Omar's teaching is as follows :

“ You know, my friends, with what a brave carouse
I made a second marriage in my house ;
Divorced old barren Reason from my bed,
And took the daughter of the Vine to spouse.

Why, be this juice the growth of God, who dare
Blaspheme the twisted tendril as a snare ?

A blessing, we should use it, should we not ?
And if a curse, why, then, who set it there ?

I must abjure the balm of life, I must,
Scared by some after-reckoning ta'en on trust,
Or lured with hope of some diviner drink
To fill the cup—when crumbled into dust !

Oh threats of Hell and hopes of Paradise !
One thing at least is certain—*this* life flies ;
One thing is certain and the rest is lies ;
The flower that once has blown forever dies.

Come, fill the cup and in the fire of spring
Your winter-garment of repentance fling ;
The bird of time has but a little way
To flutter—and the bird is on the wing."

The German's way of salvation is from the will to the intellect ; the Persian's is from the intellect to the will.

Schopenhauer's ethical teaching is greater and grander than Omar's, but neither of them is at all sufficient to meet the needs of human life. Both these extreme doctrines we find represented in the life of Faust as portrayed by Goethe ; and the folly of each course is clearly shown. Faust leads first the life of an ascetic ; it results in a bitter self-inquisition, which very nearly terminates in suicide ; to escape from himself, he then plunges into sensual pleasure, which leads him into crime, and results in the deepest anguish he has yet known. Faust finds the key to the significance of life only in faith in God and in unselfish love for his fellow-men, which is exactly the teaching of Christianity. The outcome of absolute pessimism can never be anything which shall result in a rational or noble method of action. Schopenhauer is as wide of the truth as Omar ; there is no more virtue and goodness in simple asceticism than there is in unrestrained pursuit of pleasure. The teaching of both philosophers becomes an absurdity. A man who keeps his faith in a Divine Intelligence over all the mystery and misery of life, can give us an ethical system which has some foundation ; but a pessimist who looks on life as Omar Khayyam or Schopenhauer regarded it, can never give us any moral teaching which shall cause those chords to vibrate in us, which we recognize as the highest and the purest. Christianity touches them all.

WILLIAM LYON PHELPS.

ARTICLE III.—THE REACTION OF ETHICS UPON ECONOMICS.*

THE changed aspect which this thriving city and this expanding University present, as we here touch for a brief visit at the harbor from which thirty-five years ago we first put to sea, reminds us of the equally great changes which we have witnessed in the nation and the world. We, sharing in this universal change, as our faces attest, and as our consciousness of many vicissitudes reminds us, need regret none of it, if we have discerned the ethical soul of the whole movement, the central principle, to whose unfolding all world-changes are subservient, and have identified with its continuous development whatever remains to us of life with an earnestness commensurate with the advancing shadows, whose chill we must ere long feel.

With so much only of natural reminiscence and recognition would I introduce the theme upon which I have chosen to enjoy my privilege of being your appointed spokesman on this anniversary,—a theme than which there is hardly any of greater interest or consequence,—*the Reaction of Ethics upon Economics*.

Limiting our view to our own country, we have seen the westward tide of population advance from the central river to the western sea. We have seen the nation consolidated, and its great infamy abolished, by a war, whose unnatural strife has brought about a concord the more hearty and lasting through its extirpation of the root of strife. We have seen the ocean barriers, which severed us so far from the old world, reduced sufficiently for New York and Boston to talk together by way of London during their brief isolation from each other by a snow storm. We have witnessed economic and social changes equally great. The much admired millionaire of our younger days has become a very common and inconspicuous

* An Address delivered before the Class of 1853 in Yale College upon its 35th Anniversary, June 26, 1888, by JAMES MORRIS WHITON.

person. A little money does not now go as far as when, according to the *bon mot* of a distinguished Yalensian, Washington "threw a sovereign across the sea." We have become wonted to the sight of colossal fortunes, beside which the wealth of Crassus and Croesus has ceased to be a proverb. We have also seen a new species of giant appear among the forces that are shaping our national development, a creature rivaling the Anakim and the Titans, and vaunting himself superior to all the older powers,—the creature of the State, but aspiring to its control—in fact, a rapidly multiplying brood of giants under the family name of Corporation. The political consolidation that has reduced the importance of the several States of our Union has been paralleled by a plutocratic consolidation, which has circumscribed the range of individual power by the power of associations. A man is no longer able, as in our college days, to found a great business with his office in his hat and his equipment in his satchel. "There are," says Mr. John Rae, "fewer openings to invest savings in their own line, fewer opportunities for the able to rise to a competency." Both for the plutocrat and the proletarian the stretch of individual initiative and independence has been curtailed by surrender to the control of combinations, whose object it is to limit that free competition of individuals, by which, according to the lessons here learned in our youth, the State was supposed to be best served. The momentary regret, which some of us may have felt, in beholding the greatly amplified means and improved methods of instruction which our Alma Mater now affords, that we were born too early to enjoy them, may be balanced by a less transient satisfaction that we were born early enough to enjoy some substantial advantages among men, which have become more rare as social and economic changes have developed.

The central point of interest in all these changes is not in their physical dimensions, but in their ethical import as either constructive or destructive for the inner life of humanity, in its sympathy and brotherhood, in its conscience of duty and aspiration toward the good which abides when the glittering show has gone. There are not wanting prophets, and we perhaps have been sometimes tempted to join their fellowship,

who tell us that this brilliant and grand material progress is contributory to moral decay. There is indeed no lack of historical testimony to the likelihood of such an issue, unless some antiseptic tendency be at work in the control of the material development by an ethical principle.

Even the barbarian Nervii of Cæsar's time, who shut out all foreign imports lest their ancestral virtue should become an export, had read in Gaul the lesson which we read the world over. The youth who was virtuous on the farm becomes vicious in the city. Public and average morality is the "crust of custom" adjusted to the strain of a familiar environment. Change this environment by the rise of new exigencies of temptation requiring the energy of a living principle to formulate a new rule for the new case; the crust of moral habit, if not thus reënforced from within, gives way. The inundating torrent levels all the traditional landmarks that distinguish right from wrong.

That our levees are unbreached, I dare not affirm. That the crevasse is unmanageable, I see no reason to fear. There is a Cassandra-view of the situation, whose exaggerations derive all their plausibility from the element of truth that is in them. Our first care must be so to recognize this as to save our augury of hope from discredit as an optimistic dream.

Instead of citing the sinister facts at length, we may more expeditiously cite the comments put upon them by men who pass for clear observers and cool thinkers. Our Professor Sumner tells us: "The wealth power has been developed, while the moral and social sanctions, by which that power ought to be controlled, have not been developed." In a similar strain, Professor Clark of Smith College: "The relaxing of healthy restraints, the growth of mercantile license, has characterized the period now closing. Trade has become openly predatory, and the weak have been the victims." Equally trenchant is the testimony of ex-President Bascom: "The commercial force of great cities is on the side of wrong doing, and the community at large is overawed."

There can hardly be any doubt that our industrial civilization is animated by the spirit of the gladiator as mischievously as the military civilizations of antiquity, and that the pen even

for spoliation has proved itself mightier than the sword. With much less bloodshed, there is no less battle. The unsocial, individualistic struggle for the good things of the world is still essentially the same as that which, in the world of the saurians, made

“—nature red in tooth and claw
With ravine.”

Business often being war, as a recent English writer complains, both invites and condones a lower code of morality than is required in the family and the church. The oratory which Faraday shut when he went into his laboratory has to be shut when going into the economic prize-ring. In this age of gold, high professions and low practice dwell as amicably together as lions and lambs in the golden age of sacred prophecy, and membership in the Church of Christ has ceased to be regarded, except by those who dwell afar from the battle-field, as disarming vigilance by confidence.

We decline, nevertheless, to believe that these portents signify that *Astraea* is about to quit earth for heaven, or that the ethical forces of civilization are becoming decrepit. There is no lack of shameful facts available for a pessimistic induction; but any such induction is narrow and illusive. The half-century which has witnessed the victories of moral sentiment over the sensuality of intemperance and the barbarism of slavery, its strenuous labors for the prevention of crime and the reform of criminals, its rising tide against the treatment of governmental trusts as party spoils, its multiplying philanthropies extending even to the protection of the brutes, its struggle to substitute arbitration for war, is entitled on such grounds to a stay of adverse judgment pending further inquiry. We still may believe that the demoralization of the industrial and trading world is no heart disease, no decay of ethical life. The ethical forces of civilization are even more vigorous than ever. Their present apparent weakness in the field of economic relations is due to no decline, but to the interference of a scientific illusion, which has held them in partial abeyance, and hindered them from a development in that field commensurate with their development elsewhere.

The career of economic individualism, which dates from the writings of Adam Smith, had its justification in the incubus of governmental interference which was to be shaken off from legitimate enterprise, and has its condemnation in the one-sided and anti-social development which it has received. Arnold Toynbee, of Oxford, has truly observed, that Smith "was concerned more with the production of wealth than with the welfare of man." A mutilated conception of human nature vitiates the economic teachings of the century which follows Smith. Of this Mr. J. S. Mill says: "Political Economy considers mankind as occupied solely in acquiring and consuming wealth." . . . "Not that any one was ever so absurd as to suppose that mankind are really thus constituted, but because this is the mode in which the science must proceed." Undoubtedly it has so proceeded. It represents man as an intelligent animal, acting solely from selfish desires, associating with fellow men merely for his own gain, bent wholly on the gratification of desire for the material good things of the world, and competing with his neighbors for such gratification on the principle of exclusive individualism, "every man for himself." Respectable baptism has thus been given in the name of science to the moral heresy that the chief end of man is egoistic acquisition of those things of which, the larger the share of one, the less the share of another. As to distribution, with any altruistic end, our traditional economist is a quietist, relying on those supernal "economic harmonies," for which he quasi-piously extols the Providence that evolves the general welfare from individual selfishness.* Such is the scientific theory, practically tending to the very "apotheosis of selfishness," which the working and trading world has for a hundred years been taught to regard as the true gospel of earthly welfare,—which for a hundred years of unexampled opportunities, giving unprecedented stimulus to the quest of gain, has made every thing of the cupidity and nothing of the conscience of men, and now has nothing better to show for it than that which provokes Matthew Ar-

* I have fearlessly declared your so-called science of political economy to be no science; because, namely, it has omitted the study of exactly the most important branch of the business—the study of spending."—RUSKIN, *Lecture on Traffic*.

nold's accusation of "an upper class materialized, a middle class vulgarized, and a lower class brutalized."

But here the ethical explorer is sternly bidden to halt, and read the warning of the god Terminus: "No trespassing on these grounds." "Our science," says the economist, "has no concern with questions of moral right." To this I can only rejoin, in a breath, that it is too sweepingly said. If true at all, it is true only of pure economics. Even then, the centrifugal force of individualism has no right to pose as ultimate, forgetful of its peer in the centripetal social force. But in the wide field of applied economics the demurrer cannot be sustained. Economic propositions which might be unqualifiedly announced to seraphs have been carelessly put at the service of sharpers. Our economists have given edged tools to children—not always good children. The economical maxim of buying cheap and selling dear needs definition in ethical terms. The economical theory of taxation which is attributed to Colbert, "pluck the most feathers with the least squealing," if not expounded by the conscience of a Nathan, will take the poor man's ewe lamb rather than touch the rich man's flock. The economic selection of indirect methods of taxation for convenience sake is justly subject to ethical rejection of them for conscience sake, so pervertible are they to extortionate exaction on one hand and profligate spending on the other. Fair exchange is, of course, no robbery. But what is fair exchange? What defeats it? What ensures it? Surely these questions of moral right, which start up every where within the field of applied economics, and apart from whose just treatment economic wisdom in the long run turns out as economic folly, deserve at least to be carefully passed over the fence to ethics, instead of being obliviously trodden under foot. Here I am bound to note, though not to expound, Vice-Chancellor Jowett's remark, that "the new political economy must teach duties as well as laws." Undoubtedly, "the ground on which men trade is self-interest." But when Professor Perry adds to this, that "no other motive is appropriate," an enormous falsehood results from failure to define self-interest ethically, as the interest of the integral, social self, not of the fractional, individual, isolated self.

It is for the lack of this that we are now threatened with moral chaos in the world of trade, as the natural result of that Lucretian vortex of atoms, out of which Smith and his disciples imagined an economic cosmos would come. So dispassionate an observer as Professor H. Sidgwick, of Cambridge, criticizes "the anti-social temper and attitude of mind produced by the continual struggle of competition," and inquires "whether the whole individualistic organization of industry, whatever its material advantages be, is not open to condemnation as radically demoralizing." The question is answered by Professor Graham, of Belfast: "Our practical working ethics, as distinct from the ethics of the schools, often grand enough, is narrowed to the lowest egoism and the coarsest moral materialism." Competition—which in theory is competition for social service, has degenerated into competition, both merciless and inhuman, for individual spoils; and this, being in danger of mowing off its own legs, has been exchanged for the new reaping machine of combination. This, however well suited to prevent competition from becoming excessive and ruinous, itself also degenerates into a predatory usurper of the sovereign prerogative of taxation. The social partners in their mad scramble have simply forgotten that they are partners. Each is trying to draw from the firm the utmost and to put in the least. Meanwhile, the strangest thing in the world is, that the success of a minority in this endeavor is advertised as national prosperity.

Yet this so-called "triumph of democracy," like the Roman Emperor in his proud ascent to the Capitol, carries in its chariot its attendant slave, the shadow of Nemesis, to whisper amid the huzzahs some sobering reminders of the evanescence of its glory. The orator at our last anniversary* referred to "the anti-social principles filtering down from the leaders in mercantilism into the lower strata of society." The "lackalls" in their turn are combining, as apt imitators, to take a hand in the great game of grab. Those proceedings of the soldiers and camp-followers of the great captains of industry which are morally most objectionable have at least the sorry justification of the plea, "You taught us the trick." The workmen who take advantage of the contractor's necessities to extort advanced

* The Hon. A. D. White.

wages may adduce the example of the monopolist taking advantage of the consumer's necessities to extort advanced prices. What we have to fear, in these times of increasing social strain, is the dragon-seed which many mighty men have sown. No more serious revolution could befall us, than in the imitation by the moneyless and the landless, in the exercise of political power, of the iniquitous practices of which wealthy individuals and corporations have been guilty.

In measure as we thus make full account of certain evil omens, we may with greater confidence rest in that augury of good on the whole, which the widest observation will yield us. The ethical disorder of the modern market may be justly reckoned as not disproportionate to the apparent and certainly adequate cause which may be assigned for it, viz: the concurrence of a period of rich material development, specially demanding the unhindered play of ethical forces, with the autocracy of a school of economic science based upon a non-ethical conception of human nature. The monstrous progeny of such a union betokens no decay, but rather an obstruction, of the moral vigor so apparent elsewhere. The evidence which we find, that the stream is flowing still, warrants the expectation that it will pour over the top of the dam. There is a visible repugnance to the organized selfishness of the "dismal science," even in many who see no escape from it. Many an economic gladiator resents the supposed necessities of the oracular "*laissez faire*" with the protest which the lack of a comma has caused careless readers to attribute to Jeremiah's unscrupulous fellow-citizens: "We are delivered to do all these abominations."* What these puzzled protestants dimly apprehend of the present demand of humanity for a more humane economy, is interpreted by Professor T. H. Green, of Oxford, in terms which are fast becoming as pertinent to our country as to his: "Those whom we admit it is wrong to use as chattels . . . are left to sink or swim in the stream of unrelenting competition, in which we admit that the weaker has not a chance. So far as negative rights go—rights to be let alone—they are admitted to membership of civil society, but . . . the idea of there being a common good, . . .

* Compare A. V. and R. V., Jer. vii. 10.

in relation to the less favored members of society, is in effect unrealized."

This conviction, to-day not only spreading among scowling multitudes, of whom, handicapped and distanced in the race, so cool a judge as President McCosh tells us, "The laborers are arguing rightly that they are not getting their just share," but also proclaimed by many cautious yet candid leaders of thought, presages an ethical awakening. Our economic Adam, as yet without a soul, is to have breathed into him the breath of human life. Instrumental to that reconciliation of science with religion which we confidently look for is the reconciliation of science with humanity, which Vice-Chancellor Jowett, of Oxford, declares to be the aim of economic reform. Of this the signs are in the air, and upon the mountains are the feet of the prophets, passionately crying, with Sismondi, "What is wealth? Are men nothing?"

Thus far we have been only getting together the minus quantities in our equation. We must now get together the plus quantities on which we rely to overbalance them. Sober history, indeed, reminds us that Sismondi's cry has been heard of old, but its prophets have been but a voice in the wilderness. We may nevertheless be confident that the time of our redemption draws nigh. True, indeed, that the rights of humanity have never been more stringently declared than when Nero's tutor said, "Man is a sacred thing to man." Too true, that the tyranny of the Cæsars and the insolence of their parasites were deaf to the exhortations of the Porch. From the times of Moses and the Prophets, since Confucius, Buddha, and Socrates, contemporary morning stars, arose, ethical truth has often been, like China's ancient knowledge of gunpowder, printing and the magnetic needle, still-born. Yet this experience is not against the hope that the Promethean torch is at hand to vivify the clay. For all the ancient civilizations, with their subjection of women, children, and laborers, using among the Romans the same word to denote both the family and a body of household slaves, were based on a defective idea of personality, and a consequent denial of personal rights. Modern civilization, on the contrary, at least in its more advanced types, recognizes in theory, as in the American Decla

ration of Independence, the full demand of personality, and is self-committed to the task of giving it full expression.

Precisely this was the task to which the Protestant Revolution addressed itself, and this the work which was apparent in the sequel—the emancipation, first, of the inner life of thought and conscience, and, next, of the outer life. The direction of the movement was given, first in England, then in Germany, by the Spirit of Christianity, essentially ethical and humanistic, which found in the young and vigorous Teutonic stock material more plastic to its touch than in the decayed Mediterranean nations of the Roman Empire. The ultimate tendencies of that movement under such direction were glimpsed in the socialistic visions of “Piers the Ploughman,” and in the demand of the peasants of the German Bundschuh, that common land should be yielded to common use. But, in the nature of things, political freedom required vindication before the equalization of social opportunities, and John Ball and Joss Fritz, thrusting themselves prematurely forward, were thrust aside to wait their turn.

The equalization of the low-born musketeer with the high-born knight, which was effected by the introduction of gunpowder into battle, the opening to the adventurous or discontented of a new world of opportunities by the mariner's utilization of the magnetic needle, the introduction of solitary thinkers to sympathetic audiences through the new art of the types,—above all, the republication of the New Testament with its law of personal liberty, had issues ethical as well as political for the succeeding generations. These are not only not yet spent, but greatly reënforced at present by that fresh and greater widening of the range and power of life, which has been accomplished by the scientific discoveries and industrial inventions of the century now closing. This also, like that preceding cycle of discovery and invention which closed with the hoisting of the Castilian flag on the American shore, has raised ethical questions, which the fullness of time has come to solve. Nor are these questions new, but simply the old questions of social ethics, once forcibly adjourned, which the “prophetic soul” of many a democratic protestant in Wyclif's and

Luther's times propounded with sure instinct of the goal whither renascent Christianity was tending.

Here now, if skepticism is waiting for a revelation, it has but to open its eyes.

These questions of social ethics, old in substance but new in force, are now pressed in the field of applied economics, from which they have been disastrously as well as unjustly shut out, by acknowledged masters in economic science. These tell us, with Mr. J. S. Mill, that it is doubtful if all our labor-saving machinery has lightened the day's toil of one human being; with Thorold Rogers, the first living authority in his department, that "the artizan, who is demanding an eight-hours-a-day, is only striving to recover what his ancestor had, four or five centuries ago;" with Professor H. C. Adams, of Michigan University, that the improved methods and instruments of production have increased the product of labor 500 per cent., while the wage of labor has been increased but 100 per cent.; with ex-President Bascom, "that industrial equilibrium is being rapidly lost in a community in which a single family in a little over one generation can amass two hundred millions of dollars;" with Professor Graham, of Belfast, that "in all countries the problem of a better distribution of wealth is acknowledged to be the most important problem of our generation;" and with even the present Premier of England, telling us that "the better housing of the poor is the great question of the future."

These old questions, newly moved by authorities whom it is folly to disparage, we see seconded on every hand by spectacles which stir the common mind to thinking on the problems thus proposed; as by heightening contrasts between the neighbors Opulence and Indigence, by the purchase of ground for a ten-million-dollar cathedral in honor of Christ, while the slums, where Christ's little ones die in noisome heat by thousands, remain undisturbed, and even lucrative at 35 per cent.

Seconded again, and urgently pressed, these same old questions are, by a spreading rift of the natural allies, Capital and Labor, into hostile camps, and by the constant exposure of trade, table, and hearth-fire to upset by the blind strike and mad boycott of men who cry, that they are refused their rights and must assert their power.

Still further, a very obscure, but a very numerous and, in the long run, influential personage, who has been styled "the Forgotten Man," is seconding these questions. Perhaps he but poorly sees how the ethical chaos originated, but he sees it, and is stirred at seeing the spoliation, which under the forms of business is aggrandizing some enormous fortunes, and at the monopolistic wrong of fixing price by power rather than by worth, and at the levy of robber taxes in the shape of profits on fictitious capital, and at the fraudulent appropriation of the public domain. All these the Forgotten Man is setting down in his note-book for a day of account.

Our political seers, also, have heard the surf through the fog, and are crying from their look-out, "Breakers ahead." "Nowhere in the world," says our Professor Sumner, "is the danger of a plutocracy as formidable as it is here. . . Already the question presents itself as one of life or death to democracy. . . The task before us is one which calls for fresh reserves of moral force and political virtue from the very foundations of the social body."

But all this re-formulation and forceful re-presentation of the questions of social ethics, which have been ignored in our applied economics, is, after all, only auxiliary to the impulse now newly applied to them from the central source of ethical power. Now that we have listened to the chorus of reform, we shall hear the solo which it supports, a Divine Voice, republishing the ethical principles which are fundamental to Christianity as constituted originally by the representative and ideal Son of Man.

The fact thus stated is the one that chiefly shows us the bow of promise upon the cloud. However obstructed by a defective science in the field of applied economics the ethical force has been, of whose vigor we have found proof in other directions, the unabated and growing energy of that force, full of promise to sweep every obstacle from its path, is most conspicuous within that organization whose moral power, whether active or latent, exceeds whatever is elsewhere found on earth—the Christian Church.

Here we have to make due account of a new fact of sufficient moment to require the most thoughtful recognition. Charac-

teristic of our times is a growing effort within the church—which indeed in her most torpid periods was never wholly wanting—to revive her primitive life and re-inaugurate her primitive ideals. Since Luther's time, this effort has been successfully pushed for return to the primitive doctrine and discipline. Since a century ago, it has been carried into a grand revival of the apostolic missionary zeal. Within our life-time, it has struggled to exalt the ethics of Christianity above the intellectualism of mere orthodoxy, and to insist on care for men's bodies, as well as men's souls, as the original law of Christ. Study and struggle have reënforced each other through this long quest for the foundations on which the hierarchies and the theologies have exhibited themselves as Christianity. Underneath the sands which ages of superstition and barbarism have piled is found at length the pedestal, and beside it the prostrate figure which once surmounted it.

Christianity, says Dr. Edwin Hatch, of Oxford, was originally a social and humanitarian movement. It was born in a time of intense social strain, resulting from an unsound social state, marked by the sorest contrasts between the strong and the weak, the rich and the poor. "The new altar of God which it erected was the altar of human need." Its liturgy was philanthropy; its sacrifices were justice, mercy, and love; its faith was the brotherhood of men and the fatherhood of God; its spirit was an enthusiasm for humanity as the child and heir of God.

It is now some forty years, since a movement of return in this direction was begun by the so-called Christian Socialists, under such leaders as Lamennais in France, Huber in Germany, Kingsley and F. D. Maurice in England,—a movement which has now passed into the scientific stage in the teachings of Adolph Wagner, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Berlin. The Christian Socialists were animated by a conviction, the truth of which cannot be questioned, that "a growing disbelief in the Christian law of social ethics lies at the root of our economic difficulties." Their fundamental maxim, equally true, is thus stated by Professor Graham: "The earthly welfare of man was of capital importance to the Founder of Christianity."

An adequate basis for this is certainly found in two fundamental principles that were laid down by him.

The first of these is the antithesis, both of the militancy of the competitive spirit, and of the fatalism that is often disguised as "freedom of contract," viz: *Scrupulous regard for "the little ones"*—all the weaker members. This Jesus enforced by rehearsing the Divine Judgment: "Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye did it unto me."

The second principle is the rebuke of mercantilism in its selfish apportionment of public burdens; as when, at the restoration of the Stuarts, an excise on beer was substituted for the feudal burdens of the land-owners, or as in our republican way of taxing the laundress's coarse shawl 86 per cent. and the prima donna's India shawl 40. *Burdens are to be assumed in proportion to ability.* "Whosoever would become great among you shall be your servant, and whosoever would be first among you shall be bond-servant of all." This Jesus also enforced by a reminder of his own example: "The Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister." In these two statements he drew the circle of the sacred furrow, within which were to rise the everlasting walls of the city of God. Of these two there will be more to say.

While the vigor of its original impulse lasted, the church became, and was for centuries, says Dr. Uhlhorn, "the refuge of all the oppressed and suffering," with work, outfit, loans, alms, ransoms, for varying needs. In the fourth century, Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, declares, that "the church protected the Naboths against the Ahabs, of whom a new one arose every day." When the mediæval barbarism inundated Europe, this function fell mainly to the monasteries and ecclesiastical orders, of whose ministrations Protestant testimony has put it on record, that "no period has done so much for the poor as the Middle Ages," albeit with an unwisdom of method in which the remedy often intensified the evil. At the Reformation, the primitive Christian principles concerning property and poverty, riches and charity, the relative rights and duties of social classes to each other, did not fail to spring up again. But, despite such preaching as that of stout Hugh Latimer before King Edward, against the wronging of the poor by the enclosure of the common land,

his doctrine of the equality of all men in Christ perished in the "nipping and eager air" of an aristocratic age. "The first duty of our age," says the learned historian of the charity of the ancient church, "is to realize in action the evangelical and reformed ideas concerning charity and the relief of the poor, in connection with those concerning calling and work, wages and property."

Put together now these words of the German abbot with those already quoted from the Oxford lecturer, and with the saying of the Belgian economist, Emile de Laveleye, "the Church can never get rid of her socialistic base." This recovery by the leaders of modern thought of the original social program of Christianity from the old palimpsest, where it had been over-written with the constitutions of sacerdotal imperialism, with schemes of metaphysical theology, with pseudo-evangelical prospectuses of insurance for another world, makes our life time of epochal significance for a renaissance of social ethics according to the true ideal of the Divine Son of Man. Amid all that we see of social Gorgons on one side, and moral petrifications on the other, we may take heart from old John Hampden's motto, "*Vestigia nulla retrorsum.*" On the edge of the bare and pestilential flats is plainly seen the rising of the tide and the power of the sea. We may not doubt the power of the true Spirit of Christianity—the tide-gates being opened—to flood the social life of men as once, and more widely than once, with its ethical and humanistic baptism.

This, then, upon the widest induction of the facts of the present as illuminated by the experience of the past, and with equal endeavor to avoid both sanguine and melancholic judgment, we seem entitled to hold as the result of calm survey of the social nebula in which light is still struggling with darkness. We have indeed been passing through the zymotic fever of a gross mercantilism, whose grave symptoms have in past years been more than once proclaimed upon the platforms of this university by honored members of our college class. But the poison which has spread through the veins of the republic has begun to feel its antidote. The mischief it has wrought, in palsy of the social spirit, in the decay of the civic virtues,

in the sapping of the principles of democracy, in the repudiation of the principles of Christianity, we see confronted by an ethical force, now more widely diffused and growing than ever before, of proved regenerative power in previous periods and on smaller scales, whose call to reform is not for the publication of a new constitution so much as for the confession of a pure and humane faith, whose communications are not in the cold speech of philosophy but in the contagion of a sacred fire kindled at the altar of religion. Without as widely as within the pale of organized Christianity we may mark the rising of that moral power which wells from the deep and central heart of humanity in Jesus the Christ. Above the churchman, who is more concerned for the sacredness of property than for the sacredness of man, may be seen the anti-churchman, taking the Bible for his charter, and prefacing his plea for social justice with a reverent "*Thus saith the Lord.*" Among the assemblies of workingmen, who have drifted away from Sunday sermonizing, we hear the hiss at mention of the churches followed by applause at mention of the name of Christ. Whatever crudity of thought may be alleged as involved in such phenomena, the central fact is indisputable. An ethical force is gaining head in society, whose energy is an enthusiasm for humanity, whose fountain is in the depths of religious feeling even where apart from religious forms. Sooner might that fabled drinking-horn of the Scandinavian god be emptied of the sea that flowed into its open bottom, than can the springs of this ethical renaissance be drained before its work is done.

To preach to-day I have no vocation. But I may voice the common sentiment of men who stand in presence of the great powers of the world—whether physical or moral—and feel that disobedience ensures defeat. And I may also, as among those who here freshly realize to-day that not much of vigorous life is left for active pursuit and strenuous achievement, utter the common feeling, which, more imperatively in later than in earlier years, bids us identify our life and name with things substantial and long-lived, and with the Universal rather than the individual will.

To prophesy—that temptation which is common to all, and now demanding a way of escape from it—I have also no call

to-day. Tempted as one might be to follow that "Message of the Nineteenth Century to the Twentieth," which we heard here rehearsed five years ago, with some conjectural "Comments of the Twentieth Century upon the Nineteenth," we are warned that the vision of the would-be prophet may be but the Brocken spectre of his own projection.

And yet I fear that I shall be involved with others in the usual charge of vagueness, when I decline a precise answer to the unanswerable question concerning the spirits that are in the air, "With what body do they come?" But it would far transcend the limits of this hour to attempt any effective presentation of new forms of social life. Doubtless they must arise in a tentative and evolutionary way, from small beginnings, and chiefly under individual initiative. The "patriarchal system of coöperation," which has been described in a recent monograph by a distinguished member of this class,* the beneficent scheme of profit-sharing which some paternal employees have introduced, might well be encouraged by some public immunity or bounty. But the ground for any fair development of good beginnings must be cleared by the short process of legislative interference with the interferences, which exist in unjust taxation, nasty tenements, monopoly of unearned increments, abuse of franchises, and combinations of the few to plunder the many.

With certainty, however, may we recognize the ideas which, in one or another form, are presently to be incarnated. They throw their shadow daily on the pages alike of the philosophic review and of the popular news-sheet. In pulpit and on platform they find tongues, and in academic and legislative halls. To take knowledge of them is imperative on whosoever would so detach his pursuit from obsolescent or putrescent things as to turn his life to fair account in the service and the promise of the predestined reconciliation of economic science with humanity. Let them now present in brief their testimony, and then dismiss us with their blessing of those that have not seen and yet have believed.

First, there is the moral demand of Christian ethics, already mentioned, in behalf of "*the little ones*"—including all the eco-

* The Hon. Henry C. Robinson.

nomically weak. This principle, which on a foundering ship proclaims, "the women and children first," has been inhumanly reversed by the economic system which aims at cheapening products by cheapening the producer's life, and conditions the family loaf on the working of mother and children in the mill,—which aims only at the survival of the strong, and tells us, in contradiction of history, that "we must have few men if we would have strong men;" which gives us in Clough's sarcastic rhyme the Manchester version of the Sixth Commandment :

"Thou shalt not kill ; but need'st not strive
Officiously to keep alive."

But there is no doubt that a humaner spirit is even now directing legislation, and that, as Isaiah thought, a man is to be made "more precious than fine gold." The conviction is spreading, that it is not the duty of society to watch the fight, award the prize, and distribute alms to the vanquished, but, as Professor Sumner says, "to increase and multiply and extend the chances of successful effort." The tumors and cancers of congested wealth, which threaten the death of democracy, must be arrested by limitations of rights and tenures and inheritances. It cannot be that those who are born into the world shall always have to depend for a foothold on the sufferance of those whom they find in possession of what is called their country. The agrarian law of the Hebrew jubilee may be applicable only to Utopia ; but its principle, already exemplified in our patent rights and copyrights, the continual redistribution and equalization of advantages, is fundamental alike to the permanence of democracy, and to the democratic aim of Christianity, the greatest good of the greatest number ; so that, as Professor Bascom insists, "every child shall come from the cradle to a fresh world, with fresh incentives, not to one overworn and used up for him by the errors of past generations."

Involved in this moral imperative on behalf of the economically weak, a hitherto neglected corollary of that right to life, which is asserted by our Declaration of Independence, is now making its just demand for the right to work, as one of the inalienable rights of man. This has long been held in abeyance by the economic heresy, that "labor is a commodity governed

by the same laws as other commodities." That this, however, is, as Professor Clark declares, "one of the most mischievous errors that still cling to the science," is shown by its logical issue in slavery. For human labor is no abstract thing, but simply a person laboring. So Dr. Thornwell, of South Carolina, argued for the slave-holders in 1861, that "the property of man in man is only the property of man in human toil." The denial and defeat of personality, at which Christianity groans, in the glutted "labor market," so-called, where a vaunted freedom of contract is annihilated by a fatal inequality between the contracting parties, is ere long to be retrieved,—how, it concerns me not to affirm,—whether by some extension of public works, or, as I hope, by some restriction upon private sequestration of the unused materials of labor. Said Mr. J. S. Mill in 1865: "Where land is not intended to be cultivated [that is, used in some way as an instrument of labor], no good reason can in general be given for its being private property at all." It is a monstrous anomaly, that a criminal should be fed at public cost, and an honest laborer should be locked out to suicide. Such inversions of natural order recall the forgotten teaching of Turgot, whom Matthew Arnold calls "the best and wisest statesman that France has ever had." "God, when he made man with wants, and rendered labor an indispensable resource, made the right of work the property of every individual in the world; and this property is the first, the most sacred, and the most imprescriptible of all kinds of property." After long oblivion this right re-approaches recognition, and Christianity, as of old, will vindicate it. But, "obviously," as M. de Laveleye remarks, "there can be no attempt at securing to each a share in the soil, but simply an instrument of labor or a sphere for its exercise."

Here very likely some objector will protest, "But this is socialism." To which we may return Count Bismarck's answer to the same objection: "It is Christianity." Yet, in all likelihood, that objector will turn out to be merely an inconsistent socialist himself,—somebody who is now beseeching society to tax itself for his benefit, either to protect his infant industry of a century with a high tariff, or to buy his silver to coin into useless dollars, or to build a levee for his plantation, or to dig

out a trout-stream that he may float his logs to market. The real division on the present question runs not between socialists and anti-socialists, but between consistent socialists and inconsistent.

We come now to the other moral demand of our renescent Christian ethics, which has already been briefly stated. It is, *That social burdens be proportioned to individual abilities*, as when in war the strongest are sent to the battle because they are strong. In the struggle for political rights this social right to the strength of the strong has been suffered to fall asleep. The plutocrat, succeeding to the claims of the baron, has escaped the baron's debt to the public service, which has rolled chiefly upon the laborer. Amid all the clamor of the so-called tax-payers, their silent partner deserves most regard. The man whom assessors never trouble, and tax-collectors never see, is he who indirectly and ignorantly pays the heaviest tax of all, first in high rents for low lodgings, next, as he goes to work, in tolls to the holders of franchises, who exact much for what the State has given them cheap; then in taxes upon the other necessities of life, his tools and clothes, his salt and sugar. It is Mr. Edward Atkinson, no radical, who has written: "The man on whom the burden of taxation falls heaviest is he who possesses no property whatever. It finds him poor, it keeps him poor, and it may even reduce him to pauperism." This system of indirect taxation simply grazes the millionaire, but grinds the wage-worker. It annihilates the possible savings of all but the thriftiest few, and steadily augments the inequalities it ignores. A careful investigator,* himself not a poor man, has produced tables, which show that, out of every dollar of possible savings after supporting a family, the laborer pays in taxes 83 cents, the average rich man 30 cents, the enormously rich 3 cents. The result, he declares, will be, in less than two generations, to transfer more than one-third of the whole wealth of the country to the hands of less than 10,000 persons. In such a result, or any result that but distantly approaches this, democracy would perish, through the folly of the economic science which "has no concern with questions of moral right." But even apart from the reaction of ethical principle against an

* Mr. T. G. Shearman.

economic wrong like this, the wrong is doomed, at least in a democracy, the moment that the ignorance which endures it acquires intelligence enough to say to the selfishness which imposes it "Am not I thine ass, upon which thou hast ridden ever since I was thine unto this day?"

But the principle which, in this signal instance, is so surprisingly violated, is destined to receive in the growing ethical reaction an honor of wider range than it gained in the Athenian liturgies and in the medieval chivalry. "Men are bound," says Professor Walker, "to serve the State in proportion as themselves." Undoubtedly the feeling is gaining hold among those who have most to lose by social disturbances, that not only are the duties of property as sacred as its rights, but the discharge of them the best guarantee of respect to its rights. Munificent foundations for public benefit from resources not always justly accumulated are pointing the evangelic moral, "Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness." The lost patrician virtues revisit Scrooge's counting room, reënforced by Marley's ghost confessing, "Mankind was my business; the common welfare was my business; the dealings of my trade were but a drop of water in the comprehensive ocean of my business." Here is the starting point of that reform of the morals of trade, which, however briefly mentioned, must be accentuated with all emphasis as promising most for the relief of social troubles—viz: in the moral conception of self-interest as the interest of the integral or social, not the fractional or isolated self, of business as the high calling of the social self for social service, and of business gains as most gainful to the gainer when gaining most for the common wealth. To this the ethical reaction now impelled by the pure Spirit of Christianity is vigorously tending. The old monastic vows of poverty, the abnegations now required by public sentiment of preachers of the Gospel, the frugal lives of many whose devotion to science leaves to them, as to Agassiz, "no leisure to make money," the increasing number of philanthropists who are content to be poor while making many rich, will ere long by accumulated iteration impress their lesson. The anti-social notion, that the property which society feeds and guards is exclusively one's own, is to give way to the moral

fact, that it is in large part, as Professor Graham says, "a trust, to be administered for the common good."

It is often intimated that we are on the eve of important changes. There is a predisposition to expect them. The eighties and nineties have for centuries brought with them momentous turning-points of history. In the fourteenth century, they witnessed the suppression of Lollardy and of the Peasants' Revolt, and the resulting ebb of English liberties for two hundred years. In the fifteenth century, they saw Columbus open the door to the conquest and civilization of a hemisphere. In the sixteenth century, they erected on the overthrow of the "invincible" Armada an impregnable bulwark against priestly domination. In the seventeenth century, by the expulsion of the Stuarts and the Declaration of Rights, they secured constitutional government in England. In the eighteenth century, they saw the consolidation of our republic under its federal Constitution, and the explosion of the French Revolution under the strongholds of privilege and tyranny. Such a series is of good omen for the hope which the present ethical reaction inspires, that the nineteenth century is yet to add to it another term, no less auspicious for that civilization which Matthew Arnold has well defined, as "the humanizing, the bringing into one harmonious and truly humane life of the whole body of society."*

The communal institutions of earlier times, however unsuited to wide enterprise and diversified industry, nevertheless involve a truth essential to that social stability in which many expansive communities have proved wanting. Not for himself alone does the general lead or the soldier fight. "No man liveth unto himself." It is the merit of our century-old economic theory that it has set individualism free, like an unleashed

*On the day before these words were spoken, the Emperor William II., on his accession to the throne of the German Empire, spoke as follows: "I appropriate to myself in its full significance his message of Nov. 17, 1881, and shall continue to strive in the spirit of that document so that imperial legislation may afford to the working people that further protection which in accordance with Christian morality is needed by the weak and oppressed in their struggle for existence. I hope that in this way it may be possible to arrive at an equalization of unhealthy social contrasts."

hound, to run down the game. It is its demerit, that it has suffered the hound to appropriate the game mostly to his own maw. In the nature of things this cannot continue. Political Science declares that either the political system which aims at equality or the economic system which aims at inequality must perish. History declares that truths which have once been embodied in crude form, as in the village communes of the Middle Ages, ever reappear in higher form. Our classmate, as law school orator,* declares, that "the way of America is toward equality; 'the stars in their courses' are fighting for it." Current experience attests the increasing restrictions which public interest is imposing on individual liberty, especially in city life. The Asiatic patience, with which the most onerous fetters upon lucrative international exchanges have been borne for the sake of a supposed public interest, furnishes a truly crucial experiment of the feasibility of more salutary restrictions upon some undoubted usurpations. Above all, Christian ethics, in its republication of the primitive Gospel with its enthusiasm for man as man, strikes the keynote and inspires the power of the coming reaction: "Change your minds, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand," a social order more harmonious and stable, because more just and merciful. Doubtless, as in the Messianic vision, some mighty will be put down, and many of low degree exalted; but the Alpine highland, distributed between sky-piercing peaks and Tartarean gorges, with but here and there a vale of Chamounix, may well be exchanged for the tropical table-land, whose guardian ranges behold from a lower altitude the wide-spread fields luxuriant with the corn, the cane, and the vine. The fruits of civilization, won as they have been through the genius or prowess of the poor of this world,—the liberators, discoverers, reformers, who were rich in faith alone,—are subject to no law of primogeniture, but belong to all in an heritage of equal opportunities. Therefore, as Professor Bascom has said, "the whole drift of law must be corrective of that overshadowing power which so easily falls to a few, and restorative, with unwearied watchfulness, of the conditions of hopeful labor to the masses of men." Then to our roaring and fateful age of iron will succeed, kindly and free, the age of man.

*The Hon. Wayne McVeagh.

Finally—though our day be far spent, its last charge has not been made, or its last honors won. After whatever blind encounter or baffled endeavor, we may be certain what is the key of the whole field, and thither may follow the flag, should we be unable to lead. With our faces turned from the setting to the rising sun, we may discern the growing ascendancy of the ethical power that is to sway the coming age. Upon our pledge of fealty we may receive its guarantee for our children of a true and stable commonwealth, secured in social order and progress by social justice, as in the Republic of God.

ARTICLE IV.—YALE IN THE REVOLUTION.

Yale and her Honor-roll in the American Revolution, 1775-1783: including original letters, record of service, and biographical sketches. By HENRY P. JOHNSTON. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1888. Large 8vo, pp. xi., 357.

IN that speech—so well known to every American schoolboy—which Mr. Edmund Burke made in the British Parliament just before the beginning of the Revolution of 1776, and in which he advocated “conciliation with America,” he reminded those who were disposed to use force in ruling the colonists, of the danger of attempting it. In order to impress his hearers with the magnitude of this danger, he proceeded to enumerate six “capital” causes from which, as he said, “a fierce spirit of liberty has grown with the growth of the people of the colonies, and increased with the increase of their wealth;” and he warned parliament that this spirit, “unhappily meeting with an exercise of power in England which was not reconcilable with the ideas of liberty” which the Americans had derived from their English ancestors, had kindled a flame which the mother country could only quench by removing the grievances of which they complained.

The first of these six “capital” causes that Mr. Burke mentioned is that the people of the colonies are “descendants of Englishmen,” and of Englishmen who had emigrated from England at that period of her history when, more than at any other period, “the love of liberty was high, and in the emigrants was the highest of all.” It was under the inspiration of this spirit, he said, the colonists took their “bias and direction the moment they parted from your hands.” The Americans are, therefore, “not only devoted to liberty, but to liberty according to English ideas and on English principles.” The second of these “capital” causes is that the people of the colonies are Protestants, and “of that kind which is the most adverse to all implicit submission of mind and opinion;” and which, in the Northern colonies especially, is even “a refinement on the prin-

ciple of resistance, the dissidence of dissent, and the Protestantism of the Protestant religion." He admitted that the Church of England had a foothold in the colonies, but notwithstanding it had legal rights, he says, "it is in reality no more than a private sect, not composing, most probably, the tenth of the people." The third of these "capital" causes is education, which, he says, is "on the same unalterable bottom with their religion, and has contributed no mean part toward the growth of the untractable spirit which characterizes them." As a consequence of the general education of the colonists, there is no country in the world where law is so general a study. "All who read, and most do read, endeavor to obtain some smattering in that science." He says that an eminent bookseller has told him that nearly as many copies of Blackstone's "Commentaries" have been sold in America as in England. "This study of the law renders men acute, inquisitive, dexterous, prompt in attack, ready in defence, full of resources." In other countries, he says, "the people, more simple, and of a less mercurial cast, judge of an ill principle in government only by an actual grievance; here they anticipate the evil, and judge of the pressure of the grievance by the badness of the principle. They augur misgovernment at a distance, and snuff the approach of tyranny in every tainted breeze."

We have been reminded of this speech of Mr. Burke on "Conciliation in America," and of his six "capital" causes of the spirit of resistance to English misrule which our ancestors displayed, as we have turned over the pages of the interesting book whose title we have placed at the head of the remarks which the space at our command requires should be very brief.

During the past thirteen years, the American people have had recalled to their minds by "centennial celebrations," all the leading events from Lexington and Concord that took place during the Revolution which Mr. Burke strove to avert, till now we are about to celebrate the adoption of the Constitution, and the inauguration of Washington as our first president. As the years have rolled on, everything connected with the Revolution—its causes, its history—has been carefully studied anew, and the results have been given to the public. We have been told what we owe to the Hollanders who settled

in New York; what we owe to the Huguenots, in all their wide dispersion from Fanueil Hall to Charleston; what we owe to the Germans; what to the Anglo-Irish; and what to the Scotch-Irish. But it has been left to the author of "Yale in the Revolution" to call attention, as Mr. Burke did, to what we owe to "education."

With assiduous labor Professor Johnston has been studying for years the history of the graduates of his *alma mater* and has at last published this beautiful monograph of nearly three hundred pages—a true labor of love—in which he has attempted to show what the Revolution owes to the sons of Yale. But though he has devoted himself to the history of a single college, and given an account only of what her graduates accomplished, he has not done his work in any narrow spirit. He was led to attempt it, as he says, because he had been impressed by the amount of service which the liberally educated men of the country rendered in the Revolution, and because he had the hope that the graduates of other colleges might be inspired to do something similar for their own fellow alumni. If his example shall be followed, it will then be made to appear what the whole body of college graduates—twenty-five hundred in number, as he says they were at the time of the Revolution—did for our national independence.

In 1776, there were few persons in the colonies who were distinctively known as professional men except the ministers. There were then nine colleges. Three of these had been in existence over seventy years. Harvard had been founded in 1636; William and Mary in 1693; Yale in 1700.* Princeton

* Perhaps it may be worth while to call attention to a slight error that Professor Johnston has made with regard to the year in which Yale College was "founded." He states it as "1701." That is the year in which the first charter was given to the "collegiate school," but the date of the "foundation" of the present University in New Haven is 1700.

It may be of interest to some to know that the name "Yale" was not associated with the college till 1718, when it was given to the first building put up for the accommodation of students, as the trustees stated, in honor of Governor Elihu Yale, by whose generosity they had been enabled to build it. As President Woolsey says, it was not till 1720 that the "spiritual body"—the collegiate school—is so called on the records; though, as he says, the formulæ "at a meeting of the trus-

had been in existence thirty years; Columbia twenty-two years, the University of Pennsylvania twenty-one years; Brown eleven years; Dartmouth seven years, and Rutgers six years. The graduates of these colleges who did not enter the ministry

tees of Yale College," and "at a meeting of the trustees at Yale College" occur interchangeably for several years. But, in 1728, Oct. 10th, in the Act passed by the legislature of Connecticut in explanation of, and addition to, the original Charter, the name was unmistakably applied to the "school." The words are "which School is now known by the name of Yale College." Since that time, what President Woolsey calls "the spiritual body" has been known as "Yale College," or, as now, "Yale University."

We will also take this occasion to remind our readers that the "collegiate school" founded in 1700 was not itself the original germ of the present Yale University. When the first settlers of New Haven came here in 1636, it was an important part of their plan to establish a college, as soon as their circumstances would allow. One of the very first acts of the General Court of the colony was to set apart land for "the college." The execution of the plan which they had in mind was, however, deferred in consequence of a remonstrance that at once came from the friends of Harvard College. The objections made in this remonstrance were deemed by the New Haven colonists to be so reasonable, that, for fear of crippling the infant institution at Cambridge, they put off the foundation of their own college; and so impressed were they with the importance of having the higher education provided for, that they began at once to contribute for the support of the college in Massachusetts. This they continued to do for some years. But their own plan was never given up for a moment. From time to time, propositions for establishing a college in their own colony received the attention of the General Court—which was always ready to give them encouragement—till in 1660 it was thought that the time had come. It was then officially announced that the long hoped for college had been "founded and begun." But owing to causes which it is not necessary to explain here, it would seem that that "college" never in reality rose above the rank of a grammar school. Yet it should never be forgotten that the institution now known as "Yale University" is the outcome of those efforts which were officially recognized by the General Court of the colony of New Haven as early as 1642, which were never abandoned, but were carefully encouraged, and which, in 1660, were officially declared to have been carried out, so that the college was spoken of as "founded and begun," and finally, in 1700, when, at the meeting in Branford, the present institution of learning was founded, that proceeding of theirs was only the last act in a connected series of efforts made by the same community, and carried out in accordance with the plans of the first settlers by those who were the acknowledged representatives of their original aspirations.

went into business—sometimes however combining with their other business the practice of the profession of law or medicine. But as a general thing they became merchants, farmers, agents; they owned ships; they engaged in commerce, trading along the coast and with the West Indies. In all their several neighborhoods, they were the men of mark and influence. They became legislators, governors, judges. They filled the various minor civil offices. Professor Johnston tells us that among these graduates were such men as Otis, Warren, Hancock, the Adamases, Hawley, Trumbull, Wolcott, Jay, the Livingstons, and the Morrisses, Hopkinson, Rush, Jefferson, Harrison, Gerry, Wythe, Lyman Hall. Nearly half of the signers of the Declaration of Independence were college bred. To the liberal education which these men had received is due the fact that the State papers of that whole period are still admired for the purity and dignity of their style. The “petitions” and the “protests” which so abounded in those days were the product of trained minds.

But Professor Johnston has not attempted to give any account of what the college graduates who remained in civil life did during the progress of the war, or even what they did in preparing the way for the Revolution. This would be an inviting field for some future historian, though it is so broad that most students would shrink from entering upon it.

His special object in the book which he has published has been to bring together the materials which will show what share the graduates of his *alma mater* had in actual warfare. He tells us that, in 1776, there were about nine hundred Yale alumni; and of this number, without any reference to those who served their country in the civil service, two hundred and thirty-two are known to have carried arms in the field—more than one in four of the whole.

According to the plan of his book, in the first part he has given an outline sketch of the military operations in each year from 1775 to 1783, detailing with great particularity the movements of the different regiments in which Yale men were enrolled. This is followed, in the second part, by the “Roll of Honor,” in which is given a list by classes, from 1724 to 1788, of those who were soldiers, and a biographical sketch is

presented of each one, as far as his military history is concerned. It will be noticed that some men who had been soldiers entered college and graduated after the war was over.

It would be impossible, within our limits, to follow these chapters in all their interesting details. We will only briefly refer to the first chapter, which describes the events of 1775-6. The story of the uprising through the country, as the news of what had happened at Lexington and Concord reached town after town, is familiar to all. But it will easily be understood that Yale men will feel a new and special interest in the story of the way the call to arms was responded to by the men who had formerly lived in these old familiar halls.

The alarm reached Lenox, in Massachusetts, on the evening of the 20th of April. In that town lived John Paterson, of the class of 1762, who was a member of the Provincial Congress. He commanded a regiment of Berkshire County men, and the next morning that regiment was on the march for Boston. In Worcester lived Timothy Danielson, of the class of 1756. He was colonel of the regiment of the Worcester and Hampshire County men, and they too marched without a moment's delay. Capt. John Chester, of Wethersfield, Connecticut, of the class of 1766, "started off at the head of a company of one hundred young men, equipped by the town with twenty days' provision and sixty-four rounds of ammunition each." But we cannot speak further of individuals. It is enough to say that it was not many days before Yale was represented at the front by fifty-five men. It is not without interest that we read too that the veteran Joshua Babcock, of Westerly, Rhode Island, formerly Major General of Rhode Island militia, of the class graduated in 1724—more than fifty years before—who was now too old to take any active part, soon visited the camp at Boston to pay his respects to General Washington. There he found his half-brother, James Babcock, of the class of 1752, a Lieut.-Colonel in Varnum's Regiment. There, too, was his own son, Henry Babcock, also of the class of 1752, Colonel of a Rhode Island Regiment, a former comrade in arms of Gen. Putnam, in the old French and Indian wars.

But it was not alone at the camp in Boston that Yale men

were found. Major John Brown, class of 1771, "a young lawyer of Berkshire County" was sent to Canada "to ascertain the temper of the people, and the movements of the authorities." He called attention to the importance of the Fort at Ticonderoga—and with Israel Dickinson, of the class of 1758, and Daniel Lyman, of the class afterwards graduated in 1776, he was at its capture in May, 1775.

At Bunker Hill, among the Yale men who distinguished themselves were Thomas Grosvenor, of the class of 1765, in Putnam's own regiment, and William Coit, of the class of 1761, who commanded a company of New London sailors. He is described as being "in stature and intrepidity next to McClary, the herculean major of Stark's New Hampshire men." He had probably been, in his college days, one of the crack oarsmen of his class; for, after the battle of Bunker Hill, under Washington's directions, he took command of the privateer "Harrison," and cruised off the harbor of Boston to intercept the ships coming from Halifax with provisions for the British army. We can imagine the amusement of his old college friends in camp if they were able to read his humorous account of his adventures. Describing his ship, he wrote: "While I can keep the sea, and light only on unarmed vessels, she will do very well. But if obliged to fire both guns of a side at a time, it would split her open from her gunwale to her keelson." He however, soon captured two rich prizes and "landed his prisoners on Plymouth Rock, and there made them give three cheers and wish all happiness to America!" Capt. Coit is said to have been "the first rebel to turn his Majesty's bunting upside down."

Among the men with Montgomery, in the expedition against Quebec, were Brigadier General Wooster of the class of 1738, and Theodore Sedgewick, of the class of 1765. Major Brown, of the class of 1771, was also specially commended by General Montgomery.

But what happened in New Haven, on the "campus" is not less interesting. The tidings from Lexington reached New Haven, Friday, April 21st. Ebenezer Fitch, afterwards the first President of Williams College, then a Sophomore, tells the story in his journal, written at the time. He says that the

excitement "rendered it impossible for us to pursue our studies to any profit," and college "broke up." That very Friday night, several students "decamped," and "pushed on to the front at Boston." Among them was Ebenezer Huntington, who in the records of the Cincinnati Society dated his war career from the day he left New Haven. The father of this Ebenezer Huntington was Jabez Huntington, of the class of 1741, who was one of the wealthiest men in the colony; and who, during the whole war, held the commission of Major-General of the militia of Connecticut. He had been all his life engaged in the West India trade, and was the owner of a large amount of shipping. Two or three years before the beginning of the armed collision with England; when such a result began to seem to be possible, he had called together all the members of his family, which consisted of five sons and two daughters, and, after asking in prayer the guidance of God, he informed them that their mother and he had deliberated and prayed for direction as to their duty to their country. He said that they had counted the cost for themselves, and had resolved to embrace the cause of the colonists, though it might involve the ruin of his business and prosperity. He then asked them, calling in succession upon each one by name—even upon the youngest, not yet in his tenth summer—what was their advice, when, one by one, they pledged themselves to the same cause. All of his sons who were of sufficient age held high positions in the army throughout the whole struggle. It is not, therefore, surprising that Ebenezer, on hearing of the clash of arms at Lexington, "decamped" from the college "campus" that very night. He served in the camp at Boston till September 8th, as a volunteer, when having "in several instances exhibited evidences of his courage," he was appointed a lieutenant. Upon the organization of the "Continental Line," he was promoted, Jan. 1, 1777, Major of Col. S. B. Webb's regiment "which was intended to be an *élite* corps in the army," and which saw hard service. A large proportion of its officers were Yale men; among whom were five of its eight captains.

The succeeding chapters in which Professor Johnston describes the progress of the war from year to year grow more and more interesting to the end, when, after the surrender of

Cornwallis at Yorktown, Col. David Humphreys, the Aid of Washington, was commissioned by him to carry the captured British flags to Philadelphia and present them to Congress. But we must forbear to follow the record further; though, as we turn over the pages, the names that meet our eye are full of significance to Yale men. Among the generals are Gurdon Saltonstall, David Wooster, Jabez Huntington, Oliver Wolcott, James Wadsworth, Gold Selleck Silliman, John Paterson, of Connecticut; Timothy Danielson, of Massachusetts; and William Livingston and John Morin Scott of New York. We cannot mention other officers, and yet there are some who should not, even in the briefest sketch, be passed by. Conspicuous among them are Major Benjamin Tallmadge, and the three brothers, Col. Samuel Wyllys, Lieut.-Col. Hezekiah Wyllys, and Major John Palsgrave Wyllys, of Hartford. Here too are the names of Joel Barlow, James Hillhouse, Noah Webster, and many others whose descendants in all parts of this broad land—North, South, East, and West—have made their ancestral names still more illustrious in other parts of the country, far from New England. Here, especially noticable, also, are well known names which represent so many of the oldest families of Connecticut that still remain in the State.

One of the things to which we call particular attention is the number of those who are mentioned in the "Honor-roll" who met a soldier's death on the field of battle, or who died from the effects of their wounds, or of "jail-fever" contracted in the British prisons. On this "Honor-roll" stands also one name, most conspicuous of all, which should never be passed by unnoticed—that of the "Martyr-Spy" Nathan Hale, of the class of 1773. Eleven of the thirty-six members of that class served in the war. Captain Hale was one of the men who, on hearing of the skirmish at Lexington, felt called upon to go at once to the defence of their country. He served through the siege of Boston, and was promoted Captain, with his commission dated Feb. 1, 1776. It is not necessary to enter into any of the particulars of the sad story which is so well known. He was a man of more than usually attractive character. His disposition and his endowments had won for him the love and respect of his classmates in college and of his fellow officers in the army,

Washington thought it to be very important to obtain information from the enemy's camp in New York, and the dangerous service was proposed to Hale. In the regiment were several Yale men, and among them one of his own classmates, Captain William Hull. The two captains discussed the question of his undertaking the rôle of a spy. Hull used every argument to dissuade his friend, and "appealed to him as a soldier not to run the risk of closing his promising career with an "ignominious death." Hale replied that he "wished to be useful; that he was uninfluenced by the expectation of promotion or pecuniary reward; and so far as the peculiar duty in question was concerned, he felt that every kind of service necessary to the public good became honorable by being necessary." With what dignity he bore himself during the terrible ordeal through which he had to pass after he was arrested will never be forgotten, nor those memorable words of his, as surrounded only by hostile soldiers he went bravely to meet his fate, expressing the regret that he "had not more than one life to lose for his country." Ought not some memorial statue to be erected on the College "Green" to perpetuate to the latest generation of Yale students the memory of the self-sacrificing spirit of this soldier and patriot of one of their own number of the class of 1773?

An interesting statement of Professor Johnston is that, in the case of the portion of the revolutionary soldiery to which his attention has been directed in the present work, the college graduates were, "with few exceptions, descendants of families which came to this country before the year 1690." "At the opening of the war, they represented the fourth, fifth, and sixth generation from the first immigrant, and were the members of what might be called the patrician element in colonial society." He says that "the best men among them kept referring to the possibilities of the future as being theirs to mark out and develop." He speaks of the influence of President Stiles, who was even then a full believer in the manifest destiny of the American people. It is not to be doubted that the fervid eloquence of that distinguished scholar did much to inflame the patriotism of the young men who received his instructions. No one was more warmly devoted to the cause of

American independence than he. As far back as 1760, in an Address which he made at the time of the completion of the English conquest of Canada, he had said: "We are planting in this country an empire of better laws and religion than has ever existed in Europe." With prophetic spirit, he declared fifteen years before the meeting of the first Congress: "It is probable that in time there will be formed a provincial confederacy, and a common council, standing on free provincial suffrage, and this may terminate in an imperial diet, where the imperial dominion will subsist, as it ought, in election."* The present writer has heard it stated by the late Professor James L. Kingsley that President Stiles was in the habit of addressing the students in the class-room on all subjects of a public nature that he felt to be of importance. On the breaking out of the French Revolution of 1789, whenever a "packet" brought news from Europe, he took the newspapers which contained the account of the meetings of the National Assembly in France, and harangued the students on the glorious prospects which were opening in France for the spread of civil freedom. From the enthusiasm which he manifested in 1789 we may judge of the nature of his appeals to the students during the war. President Daggett showed his devotion also to the cause of independence by carrying a musket himself, and the wounds he received in the field were the cause of his premature death. President Dwight was a tutor in 1776, and in an Address then made to the students, he said: "Remember that you are to act for the empire of America and for a long succession of ages. . . Your wishes, your designs, your labors are not to be confined by the narrow bounds of the present age, but are to comprehend succeeding generations." We can easily imagine what must have been the effect of language of this kind from one who all his life was distinguished for his extraordinary magnetic power as an orator, emphasized by his soon leaving New Haven himself for the front as a chaplain.† Professor Johnston says,

* Professor James L. Kingsley's "Life of Ezra Stiles," 1847, p. 27.

† Professor Johnston speaks of a famous sermon that Chaplain Timothy Dwight preached at headquarters on the capture of General Burgoyne, which "made a stir in the camp." He seems, however, to be in some doubt about the story, and says, "no copy of it has found its way into our principal library collections." It may not be without interest

"that he determined more than one of his hearers to join the army can hardly be doubted."

No one can read this account of what was done in the Revolution by the graduates of a single college, without being impressed anew with the fact that the young men who are gathered in the numerous colleges and universities that are scattered all over this land are soon to be the men of action who are to exert a marked influence on their generation. In the Civil War, eight hundred and thirty-six Yale graduates, according to the list published in the "Yale Book" by Professor James M. Hoppin, were mustered into the Union army. More than forty more were in arms on the Confederate side. Probably these lists are far from being complete. It has been supposed that Yale sent more men into the army than any other college. To day her students hold the championship among American colleges in every one of those athletic games in which undergraduate students contend. It is to be hoped that the example of what was done by their predecessors of the Revolutionary period may incite them to contend in generous rivalry—on the broader field that is soon to open for them—that that may also excel in rendering service to their country in every field in which the exigencies of their time may require it.

We regret that we are unable to follow this interesting record further. But we have left ourselves only space to speak briefly of the service which Professor Johnston has rendered to all who are interested in his *alma mater*. His

to some of our readers if the present writer mentions that he has in his library a copy of that sermon in manuscript, made by the late Professor James L. Kingsley. He remembers, also, to have himself seen the printed sermon from which that gentleman made the copy, which belonged, he thinks, to a friend in Hartford. He has often heard the story told by Professor Kingsley, as he had received it from Dr. Dwight. The text was Joel II. 20: "I will remove far off from you the northern army and will drive him into a land barren and desolate, with his face toward the east sea and his hinder part to the utmost sea, and his stink shall come up, and his ill savor shall come up, because he has done great things." President Dwight said that when the service was concluded, General Putnam came up to him, and slapping him heavily on the shoulder, said: "Chaplain, you made up that text! You never got anything like that out of the Bible!"

whole work has been done in a most satisfactory way. It is not alone the friends of Yale who are under obligations to him for the long labor of years which has been required for the preparation of this book. It will be valued by all students of the history of the period of the Revolution, for it has called general attention to one of the forces which had influence on the times which had not been before sufficiently considered. It should be mentioned, also, that the typographical appearance of the book is, in every way, worthy of its contents. It is to be hoped that a similar work may be soon prepared for each of the other colleges which were in existence in 1776. Professor Johnston has, throughout his work, enhanced its value by not infrequent references to what was done by their graduates. Perhaps he may now be encouraged to prepare the record of what was done by the graduates of Columbia College, in which he has so long and honorably filled the chair of History.

Dum mens grata manet, nomen, laudesque Yalenses,
Cantabunt soboles, unanimique Patres.

WILLIAM L. KINGSLEY.

UNIVERSITY TOPICS.

YALE UNIVERSITY BULLETIN.

No. 63.—WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 20, 1888.

Sunday, October 14.—*Public Worship*—Battell Chapel, 10.30 A. M. Rev. T. T. Munger, D.D., of the United Church. *General Religious Meeting*, to be addressed by Professor Hadley—Dwight Hall, 6.30 P. M. *Sermon before the Berkeley Association*—Trinity Church, 7.30 P. M. Rev. Professor William Lawrence, of Cambridge, Mass.

Monday, October 15.—*Preservation of Health* (Lecture to the Divinity School)—Leonard J. Sanford, M.D. Room B, East Divinity Hall, 2 P. M.

Tuesday, October 16.—*Mathematical Club*—Mr. E. H. Moore, on Cremona's treatment of Pascal's Hexagon. Sloan Laboratory, 7.30 P. M.

Wednesday, October, 17.—*Psychology* (University Lecture)—Professor Ladd. 194 Old Chapel, 4 P. M. *History of Old Testament Prophecy* (University Lecture)—Professor Harper. Room B, Cabinet, 5 P. M.

Friday, October 19.—*Berkeley Association* (Evening Prayer)—Room 89, Dwight Hall, 6.45 P. M.

College Compositions.—No extension of time beyond Oct. 31st will be granted for the first Junior composition. Juniors are asked to leave their compositions at No. 2 Treasury Building as soon as possible.

No. 64.—WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 27, 1888.

Sunday, October 21.—*Public Worship*—Battell Chapel, 10.30 A. M. Rev. President Dwight. *General Religious Meeting*, to be addressed by the President—Dwight Hall, 6.30 P. M.

Monday, October 22.—*Preservation of Health* (Lecture to the Divinity School)—Leonard J. Sanford, M.D. Room B, East Divinity Hall, 2 P. M.

Tuesday, October 23.—*Philosophical Club*—Paper by Mr. R. Nakashima on Science and Theism. Room D, East Divinity Hall, 8 P. M.

Wednesday, October 24.—*Psychology* (University Lecture)—Professor Ladd. 194 Old Chapel, 4 P. M. *History of Old Testament Prophecy* (University Lecture)—Professor Harper. Room B, Cabinet, 5 P. M. *Semitic Club*—Synopsis of Recent Articles. Room B, East Divinity Hall, 7 P. M.

Thursday, October 25.—*College Faculty Meeting*—7 Treasury Building, 4 P. M.

Friday, October 26.—*Berkeley Association* (Evening Prayer)—Room 89, Dwight Hall, 6.45 P. M.

No. 65.—WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 8, 1888.

Sunday, October 28.—*Public Worship*—Battell Chapel, 10.30 A. M. Rev. Professor Marvin R. Vincent, D.D., of New York City. *General Religious Meeting*, to be addressed by the Rev. Dr. Vincent—Dwight Hall, 6.30 P. M.

Monday, October 29.—*Preservation of Health* (Lecture to the Divinity School)—Leonard J. Sanford, M.D. Room B, East Divinity Hall, 2 P. M.

Wednesday, October 31.—*Last Day* of applications for remission of College Tuition—7 Treasury Building, 10.30 A. M. to 12 M. *Junior Compositions* due at No. 2 Treasury Building, before 4 P. M. *Psychology* (University Lecture)—Professor Ladd. 194 Old Chapel, 4 P. M. *Yale Assembly*—Linonia Hall, 7.30 P. M.

Friday, November 2.—*Berkeley Association* (Evening Prayer)—Room 89, Dwight Hall, 6.45 P. M. *Lecture Preparatory to Communion Service*—Dwight Hall, 7.30 P. M.

No. 66.—WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 10, 1888.

Sunday, November 4.—*Public Worship followed by Communion Service*—Battell Chapel, 10.30 A. M.—Rev. President Dwight.

Yale Young Men's Christian Association Monthly Meeting—Dwight Hall, 6.30 P. M.

Monday, November 5.—*Preservation of Health* (Lecture to the Divinity School)—Leonard J. Sanford, M.D. Room B, East Divinity Hall, 2 P. M.

Tuesday, November 6.—*Greek Readings* (The Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles)—Professor Reynolds. 194 Old Chapel, 6.45 P. M.

Classical and Philological Society.—Paper by Professor Reynolds, on the Classical and Modern Drama. Room B, East Divinity Hall, 8 P. M.

Philosophical Club.—Paper by Mr. J. H. Tufts, on Nature and the Universal in English Poetry. Room D, East Divinity Hall, 8 P. M.

Wednesday, November 7.—*College Faculty Meeting*—7 Treasury Building, 4 P. M.

Psychology—(University Lecture)—Professor Ladd. 194 Old Chapel, 4 P. M.

History of Old Testament Prophecy (University Lecture)—Professor Harper. Room B, Cabinet, 5 P. M.

Friday, November 9.—*Berkeley Association* (Evening Prayer)—Room 89, Dwight Hall, 6.45 P. M.

Political Science Club.—Paper by Mr. F. D. Pavey on Growth of Western Cities. 195 Old Chapel, 7.30 P. M.

CURRENT LITERATURE.

THE PURITAN AGE IN MASSACHUSETTS.*—If there is one thing which impresses itself on the mind of the historical student more than another it is the importance of viewing each fact in its relations to the entire life of the period of which it is a constituent element. Too often a man's character or the character of a party is looked at simply from the standpoint of these last decades of the nineteenth century. The men whom the world was wont to call its patriarchs and its heroes are thereby suddenly changed into monsters of cruelty, ignorance, and narrow mindedness. Thus it has come to pass that those who founded the Massachusetts Bay Colony have been scolded at and berated as few men ever were before or since, and all because they, being to a certain extent the products of their own age and its peculiar influences, chose to do things which most of us, now that we cannot, are very sure that we would not do.

Happily Dr. Ellis has not spoiled his work by approaching it in any such superficial spirit. He has, however, a profound aversion for many of the doctrines which the Puritans clung to with all the tenacity of their emphatically tenacious characters. And here and there he lays aside for a moment the task in hand to wonder that some of these same doctrines are still defended, and even to expostulate mildly with the defenders. Speaking of the intenseness of Puritan conviction he comments on the modern way of holding a creed. He says, "As a matter of fact, we have become familiar with and must reconcile ourselves to the claim of the privilege by many around us to believe certain formulas and tenets which, as stated in words, mean something quite different to them and to ourselves. But we have need to make no such allowance for the Puritan's constancy to the Puritan creed. . . . They never apologized for their creed, or mollified, reduced, or toned down its strong affirmations." But while Dr. Ellis has little or no sympathy with the religious beliefs of the founders of

* *The Puritan Age in Massachusetts*. By GEORGE E. ELLIS. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. pp. 576. Price \$3.50.

Massachusetts Bay Colony, and while he emphasizes his antagonism by his lectures to their spiritual descendants, he does not forget that they are to be judged not by their failure to anticipate and carry out his principles of living but by the way in which they sought to illustrate their own convictions in their lives.

And yet the very fact that he pauses to repudiate their system and to point out the inherent weaknesses of their position makes his book rather a series of critical essays than a history in the fullest sense of the word. Certain writers seem to lose themselves in their theme and, for the time, to become monk, or warrior, or statesman, or preacher, looking out upon the world from the eyes of the man whose life they are trying to reproduce. This the late James Cotter Morison did in his life of St. Bernard, for it would take an acute reader to find in that biography a trace of the writer's positivism. That Dr. Ellis has not done the same in his description of the Puritan age in Massachusetts, is not to be regretted, since his criticisms and suggestions are too valuable to be omitted.

There is much that is new and striking in his presentation of the motives which led the Puritans to undertake to plant a colony on the bleak shores of New England. It was no selfish enterprise to which these sincere minds turned. Winthrop himself wrote, "We have entered into covenant with Him for this work, We have taken out a commission. . . . Now if the Lord shall please to hear us, and bring us in peace to the place we desire, then hath He ratified this covenant and sealed our commission, and will expect a strict performance of the articles contained in it." In further elucidating their motive Dr. Ellis remarks, "It was the inspiration of duty, not a grasping for power. The scheme would require self-subjection and sacrifice for themselves, and restraint and very severe discipline to be exercised over others. But this was not all. Most certain it is that the leaders patiently and faithfully bore the burden which they had assumed for themselves. They were themselves subject to the stern and iron rule of their own principles. They were not restful, or, as we say, happy in themselves. They were perplexed and tormented by vexations of their own invention." Nor were the clergy any more responsible for this system than were the laity. The Bible, supremely valued and trusted, was the only infallible guide. That was in the hands of the people as well as of the minister. To its authority, interpreted by themselves, all alike

bowed submissive. The only advantage which the minister enjoyed was his greater skill in making apt quotations and in applying passages of Scripture to the exigencies of each particular case. It was in their estimate and use of the Bible that they made, thinks Dr. Ellis, their great mistake. This it was which led directly to much of their intolerance and cruelty, until at last their Biblical Commonwealth had run its allotted course and had fallen a victim to its own impracticable claims.

It would be unjust to close this review of Dr. Ellis' book without referring to the complete mastery of the literature of the subject which is everywhere shown in the use of facts and in the illustration of statements. That mastery is the result of the studies of an ordinary lifetime, for the author tells us in his preface it is a half century since he began to investigate the annals of Boston and of the neighboring towns. His work may worthily find a place beside Palfrey and many another chronicler of New England's early days.

HENRY E. BOURNE.

TUTTLE'S HISTORY OF PRUSSIA.*—Portions of the History of France, Spain, and the Netherlands have been brilliantly treated by American scholars while Germany hitherto, with the possible exception of the Reformation period has been comparatively neglected. This is perhaps easily accounted for. While Germany was a "mere geographical expression" her history had far less attraction for ambitious young foreign scholars than the great episodes which fired the enthusiasm of Prescott and Motley. But with the rise of the new empire, a first-rate power, full of energy and character appears on the scene and almost dominates Europe. The Prussia of the Hohenzollerns is such a factor in modern Europe and is so full of significance for the future that her origin and growth are subjects which acquire more and more importance day by day.

To show how this great and regenerating power in Germany was built up is the task which Prof. Tuttle has undertaken and to which he proposes to devote five volumes. His first volume reviewed the ground down to the accession of Frederick the Great and was so thoroughly and carefully done that high expectations were raised of the volumes to follow. It is safe to say that these expectations

* *History of Prussia Under Frederick the Great, 1740-1756.* By HERBERT TUTTLE, Professor in Cornell University. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

have been met. In taking up the reign of Frederick, Prof. Tuttle naturally felt that he might be accused of presumption in so soon reviewing a period appropriated by Carlyle. His preface states his reasons simply and forcibly and the manner in which he has acquitted himself confirms them.

In brief, Carlyle wrote the life of Frederick while Prof. Tuttle's subject is the history of Prussia. Carlyle, although most industrious in ransacking obtainable material did not have access, or did not avail himself of it, to the Prussian archives. Then the immense energy of modern German historical scholarship has produced many elaborate investigations on this period. Lastly Carlyle seems to have been inadequately acquainted with Prussian administrative methods. In this respect Prof. Tuttle has had more than usual opportunities. He resided several years in Berlin and during a portion of the period, as correspondent of the *London Times*, he must have had special facilities for observation.

His volumes are well made. The proportions are observed, his matter is well sifted, and his judgment in selection seems to have been excellent. His style is suited for his work. It is clear and terse and without superfluous ornament. As regards the contents his attention is not confined to politics and war but he describes social conditions and governmental methods. In this last respect his work has especial value, for it is not easy to find in English much information on the history of administration in Germany. We may congratulate ourselves that such another worthy addition to American contributions to European history has been made, and Prof. Tuttle is fortunate in having such generous encouragement as he has received from Ex-president White of Cornell.

E. G. BOURNE.

CHRISTIAN ETHICS.*—This posthumous work of Dr. Dorner is in some respects the best representative of its author's Christian thought and Christian life. His lectures on the subject here presented to the reader are stated in the Translator's Preface to have been "listened to with the greatest interest. It was in the discussion of this theme that he treated what was nearest his own heart." In his Introduction Dorner himself places this work (*Sittenlehre*) by the side of his *Glaubenslehre* with the declaration;

* *System of Christian Ethics*; by DR. I. A. DORNER, edited by DR. A. DORNER and translated by Professor C. M. MEAD and Rev. R. T. CUNNINGHAM. Scribner & Welford, New York.

"Christian Morals or Ethics is the second main division of Positive Theology."

Dorner's conception of the meaning of morality involves the three ideas of absolute worth, of freedom, and of faith. Accordingly, Christian ethics is the science of that which is absolutely worthy,—of that which, as to form, is worked out through personal self-determination, but, as to substance, is the appropriation of the natural personality by means of the divine *pneuma* (p. 16). The relation between Christian ethics and the merely philosophical treatment of the subject of morals, is affirmed to be one neither of contradiction nor of identity but rather one of continually diminishing difference. Under the influence of the progressive process of divine revelation the work of speculative reason upon the phenomena of ethical life will become more and more thoroughly Christian.

Under the head of "Foundation," or fundamental doctrine as to the prerequisites of Christian morality, a somewhat detailed psychological description of human nature is given. The existing variety of individual endowment, Dorner holds to be necessary in order to furnish a sphere for the display of ethical principle. This consideration leads to sections on the Temperaments, the Races and Nationalities, and the different Talents possessed by different persons. This portion of the book, however, is written with only a moderate acquaintance with modern results and opinions. It would be difficult to find a more interesting, promising, and as yet insufficiently worked field of investigation than that properly comprised under the term "psychological ethics." The scientific statement of what is in human nature as a basis for "the moral," by an expert in psychology is a work greatly to be desired.

Dorner's conception of conscience will be regarded with appreciative interest. He declines to identify conscience with moral consciousness in general. "Not every form of moral consciousness or of moral belief deserves to be called conscience." This term must be reserved for that which passes beyond opinion on ethical matters and attains certain knowledge. "Conscience is an assured subjective knowledge of the objective validity and truth of that which in itself is good." (p. 233). Conscience holds good for reason universally and its contents concern the inmost nature, the essential part of man.

Yet Dorner considers it erroneous to suppose that all moral

ideas are innate in man in their complete form. He even seems to admit the possibility of a true development of conscience. But precisely how he would harmonize the nativistic and empiristic theories of morals he does not seem to describe. The idea of progressive divine revelation—of a voice, which is *God's voice*, and yet which can grow clearer and serener as circumstances improve and rational culture is gained—would appear to comport well with this view of conscience. For there are stages of conscience (see p. 237 f.); and, in its first stage, moral consciousness is not worthy to be called conscience, it is not yet concrete moral knowledge. Conscience must be formed; it is not, from the first and by its own nature, able to solve all the problems of practical life.

Toward the close of this First Part the author's views in systematic theology become very apparent in their influence over his treatment of Christian ethics. Faith in the God-man is necessary to the highest morality. "The absoluteness of Christian ethics cannot be maintained unless we recognize that the person of Christ is, and continues to be essential to the absoluteness of the Christian religion," (p. 342).

The theme with which the first half of the book closes is taken up again for expansion in the Second Part. Accordingly, the first division treats of Christ the God-man as the realization in principle of the morality of mankind. In Him we have the perfect unity of the three fundamental forms of morality, viz., the law, virtue, and the chief good. Christian virtue as exhibited in the individual is then discussed. In the genesis of Christian character, after faith and love comes Christian wisdom,—the "cardinal virtue of the intellect" (p. 382). This virtue Dorner, in a manner which seems to us somewhat artificial, identifies with Christian hope. The chapters on the practice of the different Christian virtues are written with a commendable mingling of philosophic insight and good sense. The same thing is true of those which deal with the subjects of marriage, the family, and the life of the household. After chapters on the State, Art, and Science, the book closes with a section on the idea, functions, and organization, of the Church, the absolute sphere, the religious community.

Those who are familiar with Dorner's other great works will recognize in this book his characteristic excellences and his limitations also, as respects both style and matter of thought. We are

impressed everywhere with the candor, dignity, seriousness, and loveliness of the writer's mental and ethical character, and with the variety and extent of his mental furnishing. But the vitalizing, illumining spark of genius, as it shone from the pen of Rothe, seldom or never appears on these pages. Nor does the expression of the thought drive to the very heart of the subject, piercing even to the dividing of both joints and marrow, as happens not unfrequently in the writings of Julius Müller.

It is scarcely necessary to say that the work of translation is admirably done, and that the editor's notes on the bibliography and history of the subject materially increase the value of the book.

SENSUALISTIC PHILOSOPHY.*—The treatment given by this book to its subject is of the sort which is apt to divide opinion over itself, somewhat violently, into two conflicting portions. That particular kind of speculative thinking which is here called "sensualistic" may, indeed be effectively treated in either one of several different ways. The method may be historical; and then the ancestry and genesis of sensualism are traced and its nature and implications understood. Or the method may be such as quietly, yet all the more surely, to undermine the positions of the sensualistic and materialistic argument. Dr. Dabney adopts neither of these methods. He aims to be avowedly polemical, and this, in a brilliant and somewhat slashing way. The result is, of course, a book which will convince few except those who are already convinced, but will be appreciatively read and highly commended by those who already agree with its author. A somewhat strong distaste for this manner of dealing with philosophical problems must not, however, make us quite overlook the author's real merits.

Dr. Dabney, after stating "the issue" in the first chapter, briefly reviews, in several subsequent chapters, the course of the sensualistic psychology and ethics in Great Britain,—positivism, evolution theory, physiological materialism. He maintains, next, that the evolution theory is materialistic, and therefore false. Now, of course, this method of argument is quite unfitted to meet any of those favorably inclined toward evolution, however honest their purpose of investigation may be; for some of them will

* *The Sensualistic Philosophy of the Nineteenth Century*, considered by ROBERT L. DABNEY, D.D., LL.D. Anson D. F. Randolph & Co. New York.

certainly maintain that this theory is not materialistic, and others of them will undertake to show that, since the theory of evolution is both true and materialistic, we must hold materialism to be true.

Between the chapters already referred to, and other chapters refuting sensualistic ethics and psychology, Dr. Dabney discusses the origin and validity of *a priori* notions. In this section particular and detailed consideration is given to the agnosticism of Sir Wm. Hamilton and of Dean Mansel, who, with Herbert Spencer, are thought to justify the proverb,—“*extremes meet.*” Here we have a good deal of acute, and some profitable criticism. In general, the view taken of the genesis of so-called *a priori* knowledge is such as is held to prove the falseness of philosophic sensualism.

EDWARDS ON THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.*—We have already called attention in this *Review* to the series of homiletical helps entitled “The Expositor’s Bible” to which this work belongs, and have expressed the belief that it will prove a valuable incentive and aid to expository preaching. The present volume fully sustains the character of the series. It consists of dissertations upon the teaching of the Epistle of which it treats, which are well fitted to exhibit and apply its doctrinal and practical contents and to serve as a model of scholarly and edifying exposition of Scripture. The style of the author is clear, vigorous and often eloquent; his temper cautious and reverent. No discussion of the authorship of the Epistle is found in the volume. The writer distinguishes him from St. Paul but continually speaks of him as “the apostle.” One cannot but wonder what “apostle” he means.

As an example of the vigorous style a few sentences may be quoted from the first chapter; “‘God hath spoken.’ The eternal silence has been broken. We have a revelation. That God has spoken unto men is the ground of all religion, etc.”

The author of the volume is already known in theological circles by his Commentary on I Corinthians published a year or two ago. In the more popular work before us he has not diminished the impression of his ability and skill as a Biblical interpreter.

G. B. STEVENS.

* *The Epistle to the Hebrews.* By T. C. EDWARDS, D.D. A. C. Armstrong & Son: New York.

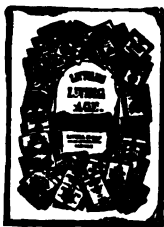
BRUCE ON THE TRAINING OF THE TWELVE.*—Probably no Scotch theologian is better known in America than Dr. Bruce. His publication a few years ago of a series of articles on ecclesiastical subjects in an American journal, his delivery of a course of lectures on the Miraculous Element in the Gospels in one of our theological seminaries, and his published writings have made his name familiar to multitudes of scholars on this side of the Atlantic. His Cunningham Lectures on the Humiliation of Christ show him to be a trained dogmatic theologian as his admirable volume on the Parabolic Teaching of Christ prove him to be a skilled exegete. The book before us has the blended qualities of the exegetical and doctrinal modes of treatment. The work has long been before the religious public, having first appeared in 1871. It is now presented in a fourth edition, an evidence of its deserved and continued popularity.

It is a systematic exhibition of the teaching and influence of Jesus as related to the twelve apostles. It is written in a popular, vivacious style and its pages are not weighted down with scholastic matter, though the scholar will perceive that the discussions are based upon scholarly research and presuppose the processes and judgment of the critic. The book will continue to be, as it has already so abundantly proved, a means of edification and instruction in private reading. It would be highly useful if systematically read in connection with a course of study—whether critical or practical—in the gospels.

GEORGE B. STEVENS.

* *The Training of the Twelve.* By ALEXANDER B. BRUCE, D.D., Professor in the Free Church College, Glasgow. A. C. Armstrong & Son, New York. pp. 552.

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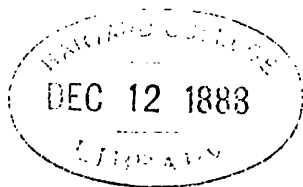
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NEW ENGLANDER

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No. CCXXV.

DECEMBER, 1888.

ARTICLE I.—THE VALIDITY OF NON-EPISCOPAL ORDINATION.*

PAUL DUDLEY, the founder of the Dudleian Lectures, was a graduate of Harvard College in the class of 1690. He pursued his law studies in the Temple in London. He became the Chief Justice of the Province of Massachusetts. He was honored in his day as a learned, eloquent, and impartial magistrate, and as a religious man. The fourth in the series, or cycle, of Lectures which was established by his bounty is the one which I am called to deliver; and the character of it is set forth in the terms of the foundation as follows: "The fourth and last Lecture I would have for the maintaining, explaining, and proving the validity of the ordination of ministers or pastors

* *The Dudleian Lecture*, delivered in the Chapel of Harvard University, on October 28th, 1888. By GEORGE PARK FISHER, D.D., LL.D., Titus Street Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Yale University.

of the churches, and so their administration of the sacraments or ordinances of religion, as the same hath been practised in New England, from the first beginning of it, and so continued at this day. Not that I would any ways invalidate Episcopal ordination as it is commonly called and practised in the Church of England; but I do esteem the method of ordination as practised in Scotland, at Geneva, and among the dissenters in England, and in the churches in this country, to be very safe, scriptural, and valid: and that the great Head of the Church, by his blessed Spirit, hath owned, sanctified and blessed them accordingly, and will continue so to do to the end of the world. Amen."

The design of this Lecture, as that design was defined and explained by the founder, is therefore purely defensive. His purpose was not to provide the means for an attack upon the polity of the Anglican Communion. In such an attack I should have no disposition to take part. Of the merits, and the claims to respect, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, as it exists at present in Great Britain, in the United States, and in other English-speaking communities, I should esteem it a grateful task to speak. On the services rendered by that Church in times past,—on the services, likewise, which it is rendering at present, to our common Christianity, it would be pleasant to expatiate. With the advantages and with the disadvantages—whatever they may be—of Episcopacy, as a method of Church organization, we have, on this occasion, nothing to do. It is only with a certain theory, on the basis of which the Episcopal system, since the accession of the Stuarts to the English throne, and especially since the Restoration, has frequently been maintained, that we are now concerned. According to that particular theory, Episcopacy is not only a lawful method of ecclesiastical government; it is not only a method which is commended to favor by ancient usage, and is conducive, in various ways, to the welfare of Christian people, but it is the only lawful method of Church organization. Without a distinct order of bishops—so it is contended—a Church ceases to be a Church. Ordination by these bishops, who are alleged to form an unbroken line, running back to the Apostles, is pronounced essential to the exercise of the functions of the Christian ministry.

Without it, we are told, there is no valid administration of the Sacrament. According to this view, Episcopacy, and Episcopacy founded, in the way just indicated, on Apostolic Succession, is necessary not merely to the well-being, but to the very being of a Church. The creed of a Church may be orthodox; it may, like the Church of Scotland, or the Church of the Huguenots, count on its roll a shining list of heroic martyrs; its ministry may be faithful shepherds of the flock, eloquent, fervent, full of the spirit of self-sacrifice; if they have not been inducted into office by bishops standing in the line of the succession, they are acting without authority, and in dispensing the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, as in every other function which is conceived to pertain to the ministry, their proceeding is without warrant, or promise of blessing. They have assumed an office for which they hold no commission.

The question might be raised whether any such official continuity, as the High Church theory involves, can be made out to have existed in any branch of the Church. May there not be, here and there, a break—here and there a missing link in the long chain that stretches back through all those misty and troubled ages? But I do not care to linger upon subordinate points of this nature. The main question is a broad, historical one. Did Christ and the Apostles, did the founders of the Church, really institute the Episcopate as a distinct, superior office; and, moreover, did they decree that the door into the ministry should be opened and shut exclusively by a clerical order thus created, and empowered to hand down their sacred prerogatives to successors to the end of time?

If we examine the literature of the New Testament and of the period immediately following, we find one fact, at least, that is too plain to be disputed: organization was a gradual thing. There was from the outset a profession of faith in Jesus as the Christ; there was baptism, initiating the convert into the company, scattered far and wide, of his followers. These followers were associated in fraternities, in the several towns where they lived. Certain offices, after models furnished by Jewish synagogues, and partly, it would seem, by Gentile societies, both municipal and private, grew up, one after another, as necessity called for them. There were

Deacons, and, in a portion of the churches, Deaconesses, to look after the poor. Within the period covered by the New Testament Scriptures, we find that in various churches there are pastors to whom is given a kind of oversight or superintendence of affairs. In each church, or town, there was a plurality of these ministers. This is now an admitted fact. It is, also, conceded that these pastors stood on an equality, and that the titles "bishop" and "elder" were applied to them indiscriminately.* Bishops and elders being the same,

* Dr. Edwin Hatch has presented the theory that in the Gentile churches, early in the Apostolic age, there were, side by side with the "presbyters" (to whom belonged matters involved in pastoral guidance and discipline), "bishops" who attended to the cultus and to external affairs,—in particular to the reception and distribution of alms. This combination, he thinks, succeeded a still earlier state of things when the same officers who were called "presbyters" in the Jewish churches were styled "bishops" in the Gentile churches—the offices being equivalent. There was, first, an interchange of names, and then, in some way not easy to be explained, a combination of "bishops" and "presbyters" in each of the same Gentile churches. (See the Art. "Priest," by Dr. Hatch, in Smith and Cheetham's "Dictionary of Christian Antiquities," vol. ii, p. 1700). Dr. A. Harnack and some other scholars have concurred in this general view. But this theory rests on a precarious foundation. If there were not elders at Philippi, the function of elders must have been exercised by the "bishops" there (Phil. i, 1). The elders are spoken of in I. Peter v, 2, as exercising "episcopal" oversight (*ἐπισκοποῦντες*). But Dr. Hatch, as I have just explained, holds that the two classes of officers, "in very early times," within the limits of the Apostolic age, were combined in one body, the members of which were designated indiscriminately "presbyters" or "bishops." (See Hatch's Bampton Lectures: "The Organization of the Early Christian Churches," p. 38). When the Pastoral Epistles were written, it is admitted that "bishops" and "elders" were synonymous (Titus i, 5, 7; I Tim. iii, 1, 8, where the two offices are those of bishop and deacon).

A word may be added concerning the "angels" of the Apocalypse. The reference is not to pastors, but either to celestial guardians, or to the idea or spirit of the church, personified. The more probable date of the Apocalypse (A. D. 68), would make the supposed fact of a presiding pastor in the churches an anachronism. Apart from this consideration, there is decisive internal evidence in the Apocalypse against such an interpretation. See Düsterdieck (in Meyer's Commentary), and Bp. Lightfoot's Philippians, p. 198. "Whatever may be the exact conception," says Lightfoot, "he [the angel] is identified with and made responsible for it [the church] to a degree wholly unsuited to any human officer."

there was not in any church a bishop above the elders. There was no higher guardianship except what was found in the authority and influence of the Apostles. At a later day, after we pass into the second century, we find that by one of the elders in each board a certain precedence is enjoyed, and that to this elder—for he is often called an elder—the title of bishop is given as an official name. This was Episcopacy in its primitive form,—a principal pastor in each town or city church, with his associate council of presbyters. It was something, be it observed, quite different from the diocesan Episcopacy with which later times have been conversant. It may, for the sake of convenience, be termed parochial Episcopacy. Something quite like this early form of organization was before the eyes of Gentile Christians in the municipal governments under which they lived.

Another fact of importance is that this early Episcopacy was not *sacerdotal*, but *governmental*. We find that, in the second century, Christian ministers were not clothed with the attributes of a priesthood. To Irenaeus and the other Fathers, down to the period of Cyprian, or the middle of the third century, bishops were not looked upon as priests. Even the germs of such a view are not to be discerned until near the end of the second century. These officials had their value principally as custodians of order, as barriers against division, and as preserving the traditions of Apostolic teaching, in opposition to dangerous novelties of opinion. In this relation, and for this end, the continuity of the office, or the unbroken succession, was insisted on,—an idea which was not unfamiliar in connection with civil offices.

But how did this primitive Episcopacy, such as it was, arise? Was it enjoined by Christ himself? Surely not. We shall search in vain for any injunction from him, ordaining it. Did the Apostles decree that it should exist and be perpetuated? There is no trace of any decree of this kind in the Apostolic writings. As concerns ordination, the terms that denoted it were for a long time the same as those which signified election or appointment to civil office. The mode of inducting the clergy into their offices was closely analogous to that which prevailed in the induction of civil officers in Roman municipi-

palities. The laying on of hands, the chief point of difference, is not enumerated in several passages of ancient authorities—for example, in one passage in the “Apostolic Constitutions”—where the essentials of ordination are set down, as included among them.* It was an old Jewish rite, used at the initiation of civil as well as ecclesiastical officers, and by the Rabbis when they sent forth their disciples, on the completion of their course of study. There is no decisive proof that it was universal; and—what it is chiefly important to observe—it was nothing more than the symbolical accompaniment of a prayer that God would bestow the gifts of the Spirit. Even Augustine says that it is nothing else but a prayer.† It has been justly said that “the facility with which ordinations were made and unmade”—unmade on account of slight irregularities, such as the residence of the person ordained outside of the geographical juris-

* Const. Apost. 8, 4.

† “De Baptism. c. Donatist,” 8. 16. See Hatch’s “Bampton Lectures,” p. 182, and the Art. “Ordination” in Smith and Cheetham’s “Dictionary of Christian Antiquities.” The Apostles, Peter and John laid hands on the Samaritan converts. “If the Samaritans received the Holy Ghost by the laying-on of the hands of the Apostles (Acts viii. 17, 19), verse 15th shows that this was only the symbol of the prayer of the Apostles for them (compare vi. 4); and, moreover this laying-on of hands is done with the same effect (ix. 17, compare v. 12) by one of the disciples [Ananias]. So, also, in vi. 6, the laying-on of hands only accompanies the prayer whereby the Apostles induct into their office the ministers to the poor who were chosen on account of their qualifications for the office; and an analogous introduction to the missionary work committed to Paul and Barnabas is performed by the prophets and teachers of the Antioch Church (xiii. 18), while (xiv. 28) the officers of the churches are inducted into office with prayer only.” Weiss’s “Biblische Theologie,” § 41 d.: compare § 109. 11. The imposition of hands in the case of Timothy (I Tim. iv. 14, II Tim. i. 1) was a symbolical concomitant of prayer. In the latter of these passages, the external symbol stands as a term for the whole transaction of which it was a part. See the clear exposition of Neander in “The Planting and Training of the Church,” (Robinson’s Ed.), p. 156. (There is a like use of the symbol to denote the things signified and accompanied by it in Heb. vi. 2.) The gift (*χάρισμα*) of Timothy was his capacity or fitness for the work to which he was appointed. It rested, like all the various “gifts” of the Spirit (I Cor. xii. 1 sq.), on native qualities, the basis of a vocation from above, but further quickened and guided by the Spirit of grace. Prayer, with the imposition of hands, was a supplication for the Spirit’s influence.

diction of the ordaining bishop—indicates that for a long period appointment to office in the churches did not differ essentially from appointment to civil offices. In later times, the grace of ordination, even if irregularly conferred, was believed to be inalienable. This difference shows that ecclesiastical offices existed for the sake of order.

It is said, however, that Timothy, Titus, and other Evangelists were bishops, succeeding the Apostles, and the next links after them in the succession. According to the Pastoral Epistles, they did a work in organizing churches, analogous to that which modern missionaries perform in heathen countries. They took the lead in placing bishops or elders—that is, presbyter-bishops—in office in different congregations. But a moment's consideration will show that the local Episcopate of the second century, as we have described it, was something quite different from the work done by these helpers of the Apostle Paul. If *diocesan* Episcopacy had followed, then the work fulfilled by the Evangelists might plausibly be considered the beginning of it, and later bishops might be thought to be their lineal successors. But the office of the early bishops, when they became distinguished from other presbyters, was not at all a roving episcopate. It was a *local* or parochial episcopate or superintendence—as completely so as the office of any Congregational or Presbyterian pastor at the present day. There is no historic link of connection between the province of those local pastors of churches in the second century, and that of the evangelists, or apostolic helpers.* On the contrary, all the evidence points to the conclusion that it was out of the Presbyterate that the Episcopate arose. Whether the change was a natural, gradual evolution, or the result of an Apostolic ordinance, is the question to be decided.

* The "Didache," or "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," has thrown some new light on this topic. Here Evangelists appear under the designation of "Apostles," in the wider application of the term. They are simply missionaries, with no administrative functions, their office being a *charisma*, undertaken by a special call of the Spirit. They are forbidden to remain more than two days in one place (c. xi). Later, in Eusebeus (H. E. III. 37), under the name of Evangelists, itinerant missionaries are described, who, in the second century, went from one region to another, diffusing the faith and planting churches.

That there was no decree of the Apostles, instituting the Episcopal, as distinguished from the Presbyterian office, is capable of being established by undeniable facts. Let us look at some things which are known respecting one of the oldest of the churches, the Church at Corinth. The Apostle Paul wrote his two epistles to that Church in the year 58. When he sent these epistles to Corinth, there is no reason to conclude that any definite Christian organization had as yet arisen there. No mention whatever is made of presbyter-bishops or of deacons. This state of things at Corinth shows how organization in the churches was a thing of degrees and a work of time. There was a like state of things among the Galatians. Now we have a glimpse of the same Church of Corinth, in the year 96, when the Church of Rome, by the hand of Clement, wrote an Epistle to the Corinthian Church. This Church had then attained to an organization. What was it? It was the same as that of so many churches in the Apostolic age. There were two offices,—that of the deacons, and that of presbyters, called also, by Clement, “bishops.” The Apostles were dead. Probably Timothy and the other evangelists of whom mention is made in the Apostolic epistles, were all dead also. Certainly they were not exercising Episcopal functions over the Corinthians; for Clement makes not the slightest reference to them. There were no bishops (except the co-equal presbyters) at Corinth, at the period when Clement wrote. This demonstrates that the Episcopal office, as something distinct from that of presbyters, was not ordained by the Apostles. If there had been such an office at Corinth, the whole tenor of Clement’s epistle makes it certain that he would have adverted to the fact. We know something of the Church at Philippi at a date subsequent to that usually claimed for the Ignatian epistles. Polycarp wrote a letter to the Philippians. Polycarp had then a precedence among the presbyters associated with him, and bore the name of bishop. But there is no hint that there was any such higher office at Philippi. He writes about the presbyters and the deacons in such a manner as to make it wholly improbable that such an office existed there. As Dr. Lightfoot, Bishop of Durham, observes: “We are thus driven to the conclusion that Episcopacy did not exist at all among the Philippians at

this time or existed only in an elementary form, so that the bishop was a mere president of the presbyterial council.”* As the same author says elsewhere, if there was a bishop, Polycarp “did not think fit to separate his claim to allegiance from those of the presbyters.”† Either no Episcopacy at Philippi, or a mere presidency of which Polycarp did not think it needful to take notice. Here we have one more clear sign of the gradualness of the development of this office; one more clear disproof of its being an Apostolic ordinance for all the churches. Unless you call presbyters “bishops,” there was no Episcopacy at Corinth when Clement wrote his letter; there was no Episcopacy at Philippi when Polycarp wrote his. If there were time to discuss the evidence bearing on the question of the rise of the Episcopate, we should dwell on the conclusive proof afforded by the testimony of Jerome. Over and over again, he affirms that with “the ancients,” bishops and presbyters were the same. The motive of the change—which he says was “gradually” made—whereby responsibility was laid on one person, was “that the thickets of heresies might be rooted out.” He distinctly ascribes the superiority of bishops over presbyters to custom rather than “to any actual ordinance of the Lord.”‡ From Jerome, corroborated by other authorities, we learn that in the great Church of Alexandria, for a long period after the Apostles’ time, when the Bishop’s chair became vacant, the twelve presbyters placed in it one of their own number. If there was any act of consecration, it was merely the imposition of hands by the presbytery. This is evident from the purpose of Jerome in appealing to the Alexandrian usage, and from his illustrations in the context.§ But there is no proof that anything was done except to conduct the bishop elect to the vacant chair. The lately discovered “Teaching of the Twelve Apostles” is one of the documents which prove that, in the early part of the second century, there were not wanting churches in which the office

* Commentary on the Philippians, p. 218.

† Apostolic Fathers: Ignatius and Polycarp, Vol. II, Sect. II, p. 916.

‡ On Tit. i. 5. See also Jerome’s Epistles, lxi, cxlvi.

§ For a more full statement of the proofs on this point, see Gieseler’s Church History, vol. i., c. iii., §34 n. 1, and Lightfoot’s Philippians, p. 228 sq.

of bishops and that of presbyters were one and the same. It is true that early in the second century—precisely at what date we cannot with positiveness determine—Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, lets us know that there were bishops in Syria and Asia Minor, whose prerogative he is anxious to enhance. But his bishops are local, or parochial; he deems them to be the successors, not of the Apostles, but of Christ; he makes no mention of any bishop as existing at Rome, in his letter to the Christians at that place; and although he speaks of bishops in distant places—possibly having in mind the churches of Gaul, which were founded from Asia Minor—he nowhere speaks of Episcopacy as universal. It is true that Irenaeus, late in the same century, tells us of a succession of bishops in all the principal churches. But the same Irenaeus plainly falls into the mistake of regarding the Ephesian elders who met the Apostle Paul at Miletus* as “the Bishops and Presbyters which were of Ephesus, and of other towns in the neighborhood”†—which demonstrates that he antedated the origin of the Episcopal system. He imagined that the precedence of the bishop among the presbyters, with which he, a native of Asia Minor, had been familiar, reached back even into the life-time of Paul. It is important to observe that Irenaeus himself speaks of the “*successiones episcoporum*” and the “*successiones presbyterorum*” as equivalent designations; he applies to the office of presbyters the name “*episcopate*,” and applies the term *ἐπισκόπους* (from Isaiah ix. 17) to “presbyters.”‡ The early heads of the Roman Church, Anicetus, Pius, and others, he calls “presbyters,” and styles Polycarp that “blessed and apostolic presbyter.”§ This language implies that he held to no essential distinction between the respective functions of “bishop” and “presbyter.” An early presidency among the presbyters at Rome suffices to account for the representations of this Father respecting a line of bishops there. A variety of proofs point to the conclusion that it was in Syria and Asia Minor, a region with which Irenaeus was early acquainted,

* Acts xx. 16.

† Adv. Haer., III, 14, 2.

‡ Adv. Haer., iii. 8. 2, iii. 2. 2, iv. 26. 2, iv. 26. 5.

§ Eusebius, H. E. v. 24, v. 20. Cf. Smith and Cheetham (ut supra), pp. 1702, 1701.

that Episcopacy first arose. That precedence accorded to James, the brother of the Lord, in the Church of Jerusalem, furnished an example which may have paved the way for it. If the mistake of Irenaeus, to which I have referred, proves that Episcopacy began early, it also indicates that it arose gradually, and did not spring into being from any explicit ordinance. Tradition ascribed the change in the organization of the Asia Minor churches to the agency of the Apostle John, and to a desire on his part to prevent divisions and to promote order. This tradition may have in it a kernel of truth. But we must guard, in the first place, against magnifying the change which established a presidency in the board of elders, where there had been co-equal presbyter-bishops. We must guard, secondly, against the wholly unproved and unauthorized notion that, even according to the tradition referred to, John instituted such an arrangement for the churches everywhere. "There is no reason," says Bishop Lightfoot, "for supposing that any direct ordinance was issued to the churches."* This is true even as to the churches in that neighborhood. Moreover, could it be shown that John or any of the other Apostles directed or recommended that bishops should be appointed, it would still be a great leap in logic to infer that such a polity was decreed by them as something necessary in the Church for all time—so necessary that, if it were not kept up, the Church would cease to be a lawfully existing Christian community, and the Lord's Supper be stripped of the spiritual benefit which it was appointed to confer on believing recipients. However, the evidence for Episcopacy as an Apostolic ordinance is wanting. Historical scholarship at present denies its sanction to such an hypothesis. Some of the most learned and convincing refutations of it have emanated of late from writers of high standing in the Church of England. The verdict in which scholars, who pursue these researches without the unconscious but misleading bias of ecclesiastical motives, for the most part unite, is that the Episcopate as a distinct office arose naturally out of the Presbyterate, under the influence of circumstances which strongly favored its early and general development. A simple presidency in the

* Com. on Philippians, p. 205.

board of elders by degrees grew into an office of increased importance.* With Ignatius, bishops are the means of securing unity and preventing divisions; with Irenaeus, late in the second century, bishops are the means of preserving sound doctrine by handing down the traditions of Apostolic teaching; not until Cyprian, in the middle of the third century, do bishops become the channels for conveying a grace qualifying for a priestly office. When it is borne in mind that for a long period, Episcopacy was valued for its governmental uses, it will be felt to be a supposition in the highest degree improbable that it was ordained for the Church and for all time. A supposition of this sort coheres well only with the sacerdotal theory of the ministry, which does not belong to the second century.

When the colonies of Puritan Englishmen planted themselves here, they still owned an allegiance to the English crown; but they felt themselves at liberty to frame their ecclesiastical order in conformity with their own ideas of what was right and expedient. If they had felt bound to reproduce the Anglican system, they would have gained nothing by their change of abode. The hundred ministers who had been ordained in the English Episcopal Church, with the people to whom they ministered during the first generation of our history, chose to dispense with bishops, as a superior order, altogether. They sought to copy, to the best of their knowledge, the usages of the Apostolic age. Whatever in their theories and proceedings may be open to just criticism, it will not be doubted that the practical alternative was prelacy constituted and administered according to the ideas of Archbishop Laud. Who that knows how to value English and American constitutional freedom, can lay his hand on his heart and say that he regrets the choice which they made?

* The appropriation to the president of the elders of the title *ἐπισκόπος*, one of the two synonyms which were applied at first to all of them indiscriminately, accords with a familiar custom of language. It is illustrated, for example, in the history even of such words as "abbot," "patriarch," "pope." That the importance of the financial responsibility which devolved on the president, and the association, in secular use, of this function with the term *ἐπισκόπος*, was not without its influence, is probable. Whether this consideration had the weight which Dr. Hatch ascribes to it, may be questioned.

In adopting the Congregational polity, the New England settlers availed themselves of a liberty which the English reformers, with one accord, held to belong to all political communities. The theory that there can be no Church without bishops was never maintained by Episcopalians in England until the days when a school of theologians, who were at the same time supporters of the tyranny of the Stuarts, brought it forward, and used it in the controversy with Puritanism. The claim had been that the constitution of the national Episcopal Church of England was lawful, and that Episcopacy was the form of government in use in the primitive Church. This had been asserted, and nothing more.* There had been no objec-

*The statement in the preface to the Ordinal in the Book of Common Prayer, respecting three "orders of ministers" is often appealed to as a proof that Episcopacy was held by the framers of the ordinal to be an Apostolic ordinance and necessary to the existence of a church. But nothing of the kind is affirmed. It is simply asserted that these offices have existed since Christ's time and are to be continued in the Church of England. The term "orders" was often used, as by the early fathers, to signify, in the general sense, rank, or eminent rank. The statement in the preface is antithetical to the Roman doctrine of *seven* orders. For the proof of this statement, see the instructive note (A. pp. 28, 26) in Dr. Edwin Harwood's valuable Essay, "*The Historic Episcopate*" (N. Y., Thomas Whittaker, 1888). Peter Lombard, Aquinas, and the mediæval doctors generally, regarded the Episcopate as embraced in the priesthood, but with special functions attached. That presbyter and bishop were identical as to order was the view of the Roman Catholic Church until the epoch of the Reformation. A comparison of the Ordinal with the same as altered in 1661, after the Restoration, shows how much was done at this time to emphasize the distinction between the two offices of bishop and priest. For example, prior to 1661, Acts xx., which describes the meeting of Ephesian elders with Paul, and I Tim. iii, were read both at the ordaining of a priest and the consecration of a bishop. Both these portions of Scripture were now assigned to the service for the consecration of a bishop exclusively. The latter passage—I Tim. iii. 1-8—relates to the character and work of a "bishop." But even in the later form of the Ordinal, there is no condemnation of the orders of non-episcopal churches. The bishops sent to Scotland in 1610 presided over Presbyterian clergy, and there is no proof that this was not the case in regard to the bishops consecrated for Scotland in 1661. "*Cranmer's Catechism*" is sometimes erroneously thought to give evidence of a change of opinion on his part. But this Catechism was a translation of the Lutheran Catechism of Justus Jonas; and the passage on Apostolic succession is based on a writing of Luther, where he is showing that the Apostolic method of inducting

tion to intercommunion with foreign reformed churches. A statute of Elizabeth even made room for the admission of ministers of foreign birth, not Episcopally ordained, to English parishes; and for a long time they were thus admitted without opposition.*

The truth in this matter is so clearly stated by an able scholar in Church history, an American Episcopal clergyman, that I prefer to quote his language. "There was not one leading divine, from Hooper to Hooker, who ever claimed more than historic and primitive usage as the ground of Episcopal authority, or pretended that it was of the essence of the Church. I challenge safely the proof. Whitgift, the High Churchman of Elizabeth's time, in his reply to the attack of Cartwright against the prelacy, as not prescript in God's word, distinctly affirmed that to hold it of necessity that we have the same kind of government as in the Apostle's time and expressed in Scripture is 'a rotten pillar.' It was the Puritan of that day who held this view and was the narrow theorist. It is the Anglo-Catholic of our own time who takes Puritan ground. If we read, as so many do, the words of the Prayer Book, as main-

ministers into office was by the laying-on of hands and not "by chrism or butter." Cranmer's translation is only the repetition of what was said by Luther and in the Catechism of Jonas. On this subject, and on the dependence of English Protestant formularies and other writings on Lutheran sources—which is often understated by modern English writers—see an Article by Professor H. E. Jacobs, in the *Lutheran Church Review* for July, 1888.

* Lord Bacon probably wrote his "Advertisement concerning Controversies of the Church of England," in 1580. After saying that some stiff defenders of Episcopacy were beginning to condemn their opponents as a "sect," he adds: "Yea, and some indiscreet persons have been bold in open preaching to use dishonorable and derogative speech and censure of the [Protestant] churches abroad: and that so far as some of our men, as I have heard, ordained in foreign parts, have been pronounced to be no lawful ministers." Bishop Joseph Hall, the most conspicuous defender of Episcopacy just prior to the civil war, in his "Defence of the Humble Remonstrance," says: "I know those, more than one, that by virtue only of that ordination which they have brought with them from other reformed churches, have enjoyed spiritual promotion and livings, without any exception against the lawfulness of their callings." Of the fact thus stated by Bishop Hall, on his own personal knowledge, there is abundant proof from other sources.

taining more than the assertion of the historic fact, we simply deny the whole *catena* of early English divinity. Not only so. No notion of an exclusive Episcopacy, even in later times, when Bancroft and Laud had naturalized it, gained footing as a Church principle. Field, Bramhall, Hall, Ussher, did not hold it. Morton, although bitter against the Presbyterians and not without reason, declared that "he could never unchurch the bodies of the continent for an infelicity, not a fault."*

Let it be remembered, then, that the fathers of New England, if we grant them the right to found here political communities that should not be a mere extension of English institutions on these shores, made use of a right, which English divines from Cranmer to Hooker, and which English theologians of highest repute, even after the epoch of Laud, never thought of calling in question. The Christians of these trans-Atlantic communities determined for themselves—as did Protestant Christians of France, of Holland, of Germany, of Switzerland—how they would appoint their ministers, induct them into office, and manage their ecclesiastical discipline. The pastor was to be chosen by the flock to whom he was to minister. He was to be ordained and installed in office by a simple rite which included the laying-on of the hands of ministers previously set apart for the same office in the churches. It is what may be styled Presbyterian or Congregational, as distinguished from Episcopal, ordination. It thus appears that there has been a succession in the ministry of the New Eng-

*Dr. E. A. Washburn's "Epochs in Church History," p. 120. Hooker's position is intermediate between that of the Reformers and that of the High Church School of the Caroline age. In his earlier days, as he tells us, he held with his master, Jewel, that the bishop was originally one of the presbyters, raised to a presidency over his fellows, and that this change took place after the days of the Apostles. (B. VII. xi. 8.) He came afterwards to hold that the Episcopate was from the beginning distinct. But he had no disposition to unchurch the foreign Protestant bodies, since he considered that their non-episcopal polity grew out of the necessities of their situation. Moreover, in accordance with his general theory of government, Hooker held that the powers of the Church are such that it is competent for the Church to abolish the Episcopate altogether if need be. This interpretation is questioned, but not on sufficient grounds. What he says respecting Jerome—although he misinterprets Jerome—implies that he (Hooker) attributed to the Church this ample, reserved authority. (B. VII. v. 8.)

land and the other American Congregational churches. It has been customary, generation after generation, for their ministers to be ordained by predecessors in the same office who were themselves ordained. Our ministry stand connected with the hundred clergymen of the Church of England, who, in the early days, emigrated to these shores. Unless, then, it is claimed—what the fathers of the English Reformation certainly did not claim—that ordination by presbyters is not sufficient to make a minister, the right of our ministry to exercise their functions cannot be successfully impeached. The links in the succession here are quite as easily pointed out as in the line of the clergy, of whatever order, in the Anglican Communion. But we do not rest the defence of the New England Churches and ministry on this circumstance. On the contrary, we desire to guard against the sacerdotal theory of the ministry, which separates the clergy as a distinct, self-perpetuating body in the Church—as a close corporation—from the laity. Against this theory, the Reformers in all Protestant lands uttered an emphatic protest. They asserted for the congregation, the general company of Christian people, the right to call their ministers and to provide for their induction into office. Protestantism was an uprising of the laity against the rule of a dominating priestly class which determined who should, and who should not, belong to it. In one of the earliest and most influential of Luther's publications, the "Address to the Nobles of the German Nation," he denounced the doctrine that the ministry are an order of priests. He stigmatized this conception as one of the main roots of the hierarchical usurpations and abuses, against which he lifted his voice. "They have invented the notion," says Luther, "that pope, bishops, priests, cloister people, are to be called the spiritual order; that princes, nobles, mechanics, and farmers, are the secular order. What a fine comment and gloss this is, forsooth! But let nobody be frightened about it, and for this reason: all Christians are really of the spiritual order, and there is among them no difference, except in office, as Paul (1 Cor. xii. 12 sq.) says: we are all one body, but every member has its own work, to the end that it may serve others. This is the whole of it, that we have one baptism, one Gospel, one faith, and are all alike

Christians (Eph. iv. 5). For baptism, Gospel and faith—they alone make people spiritual and Christian.” Then he appeals to the great declaration of the Apostle Peter (1 Peter ii. 9), which the Reformers so often cited: “Ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood;” and to the kindred passage in Revelation (v. 10): “And hast made us unto our God kings and priests.” A bishop’s act of consecration, adds Luther, is nothing more than if he, acting in the room, and in behalf of, the entire body, should take one of their number, all of whom have a like authority, and bid him exercise that authority for the rest: “just as if ten brothers, a king’s children, chose one of their number, to rule over the inheritance for them: they would be all kings, and of equal authority, and yet one is bidden to exercise rule.” To make the matter more clear, Luther supposes that a handful of pious Christian laymen were captured and carried off to a desert place, there being among them no priest ordained by a bishop. They might choose one of their number, married or unmarried, and bid him baptize, hold mass, absolve, and preach; and he, says the deep-thinking as well as sturdy Reformer, “would be as truly a priest as if all the bishops and priests in the world had consecrated him.” The purpose of the ministry was to perform acts which the flock, according to the principles of the Gospel, was empowered to perform, but which, from the nature of the case, it must perform through agents and instruments. It is a mistake to imagine that the leaders of the English Reformation adopted an essentially different opinion. The visible Church was declared to be the “Congregation of faithful men.” The ministry were to be such as were “chosen and called to this work by men who have public authority given unto them in the Congregation to call and send ministers in the Lord’s vineyard.”* Orders, ordination, was denied to be a sacrament. It was ranked with the rejected sacraments of the Church of Rome, which “have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God.” The theory of a clerical society, independent of the laity in virtue of its power to shut out from the ministry whom it will, and having in its hands the exclusive authority to dispense the sacrament, is good Romanism,

* Articles of Religion, Art. xxiii.

but not sound Protestantism. In our day, even in Roman Catholic countries, the sacerdotal conception of the office of the clergy encounters wide-spread and successful resistance, in connection with one part of their alleged prerogatives. The doctrine that marriage is a sacrament and that none but a priest can perform the rite, gives to the clergy an absolute right to permit or prevent the forming of a matrimonial union. This great interest of Christian society is thus made subject to the sovereign will of a self-perpetuating corporation of priests. But this assumption is no greater than the pretension of the Anglo-Catholic school as regards the Lord's Supper and the right of the laity to determine who shall be their ministers. The pretension is that a clerical corporation, determining by its own voice who shall and who shall not belong to it, has a right, under all conceivable circumstances, to say whether a person shall be allowed to serve the congregation as a minister. Let the demand of the laity be unanimous, let the person designated for the ministerial office have all conceivable qualifications, the laity are powerless unless the assent of the clerical body can be secured, and the consent of a portion of them to ordain him can be obtained. This is the principle. It is analogous to the political doctrine of the divine right of kings. That was the doctrine that the right to govern in the State is transmitted, by a divine ordinance, in a certain line. Whether a nation is bound to obey a particular person is—be the circumstances what they may—a question of pedigree. Is he next of kin to the predecessor? The *jure divino* theory of Episcopal ordination belongs in the same category with this ancient political theorem. The one is, in principle subversive of liberty in the State; the other carries the same consequence in the Church. Bear it in mind that it is not of Episcopacy, but of a certain theory on the subject, that I am speaking. It is true that there must be regulations in the Church, and that these ought not to be lightly changed. There is an inherent propriety that ministers should be inducted into office by those who are already discharging ministerial functions. There is a succession of this character even in a denomination as democratic in its organization as the Baptists. Nor is the rite of ordination an unmean-

ing or useless ceremony. Nevertheless, with the Church, the body of the faithful, there ever remains the reserved power, which may be exercised should the emergency call for it, to begin, as it were *de novo*, and to place in the pastoral office the persons whom it judges best qualified to feed the flock. This reserved right of the "Congregation of faithful men" to commit clerical office to whom it will, does not justify a needless revolt against the ecclesiastical arrangements which already exist in any community. The presumption is always in favor of the continuance of them. To break away from them, and to form a rival organization, is a right to be exercised only in extreme cases, like the right of revolution in the State. Such a case was found in the separation of England from the European family of Churches which acknowledged the Bishop of Rome as their chief pastor. There was a like necessity, in the judgment of English Non-conformists, for ceasing to submit to that mixture of civil and political tyranny, which was substituted, under the Tudor and Stuart sovereigns, for the Roman supremacy.

The fruits of the Christian institutions which have subsisted in New England for the last two centuries and a half may help one to decide whether, during this long period, we have been without a lawful ministry and without the Christian sacraments. It may be that doctrinal errors, in certain times and places, have come in; but the same is true, in an equal or greater degree, in every other communion. The main question is what, as regards practical religion, and the works meet for churches to do, has been the history of New England, and of the ecclesiastical system which has spread abroad from this center? Let the successive generations of Christian men and women, who have passed their lives in simplicity and godly sincerity, give answer. Let our civil institutions for the maintenance of impartial justice and equal liberty, reply. Let the schools and colleges, which the religion of New England has created and fostered, give their testimony. Let the hospitals for the relief and comfort of so many forms of human distress, bear witness. Let the work done in planting the Gospel in the American communities beyond our bounds, as the tide of emigration has moved onward to the Pacific, testify to the energy and unselfish

benevolence of the Christian people of New England. Let the missions to the heathen in every quarter of the globe, and the vast pecuniary contributions for their support, tell their tale. "By their fruits ye shall know them. Men do not gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles." If it could be shown that such fruits have been produced, during so many generations, by churches deprived of a lawful ministry and without the benefit of the sacrament, the inference would have to be that the ministry and the Eucharist are not so requisite for the growth and spread of true religion as the most moderate of churchmen—much more as the Anglo-Catholic school—have believed.*

* Roman Catholics and Anglo-Catholics look on the members of non-episcopal Christian bodies as truly baptized and thus within the pale of the Church. The difference of doctrine and practice as regards the Sacrament of Baptism as compared with the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, forms a curious and instructive chapter in Ecclesiastical History. Since the early days of the Church, Baptism, in cases of necessity, by laymen, even by a heretic or a Jew, has been counted to be valid. Yet Baptism has been held to be efficacious enough to efface the guilt of all sin, original or actual, to deliver from all debts of penance and to infuse sanctifying grace. Moreover, as in the case of ordination, an "indelible character" belongs to Baptism: it cannot be repeated. These great blessings are secured by a Sacrament in which a midwife, even an unbeliever, may be the ministrant! The ground of this latitude was the conviction that Baptism is necessary for salvation and a humane desire to give as many as possible the indispensable rite. But as to the Lord's Supper, it can be dispensed only by the priest who has received Episcopal ordination. There is not a like pressure of humane motive as in the case of Baptism. The Church of Rome can assign as a reason for the necessary connection of a priest with the Eucharist that it is a propitiatory sacrifice. There must be a priest because there is an altar. In the Anglican bodies, the Articles of Religion admit of no such view of the Lord's Supper. To extract from the Communion office (where "the holy Table" stands in the room of the altar) any idea of a sacrifice of such a character as to make a priestly order indispensable, is an extremely difficult task for the Anglo-Catholic School to perform; and its difficulty is heightened by the placing, in the English Prayer Book, of the Prayer of oblation after, instead of before, the administration—contrary to the arrangement in the Scottish and the American Liturgies. The Church of Rome, with its modern idea of the separation of bishop and priest by a distinction of order, does not hesitate still to attribute to the latter the power to work the great miracle of the Eucharist—than which no sacerdotal function can be higher. The mediæval view, held by the greatest doctors of Roman theology, that bishop and priest are distinct only in office, but not in order, avoided this incongruity.

In 1886, the bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this country sent forth a document which may be called an olive-branch in the cause of Christian union. As such it deserves from all lovers of peace a respectful and kindly consideration. Especially when the history of New England Congregationalism is taken into view, it is clear that an appeal of this nature merits at our hands candid attention. Many of the old points of contention between us and the Episcopalians have passed away. In America, that union of Church and State, involving the subjection of the Church to the civil authority, against which our fathers rebelled, has no existence. The prelatical system with the pains and penalties annexed to it in the law of England, which called out the great Puritan revolt, is a thing of the past. The tyranny of Whitgift and Laud would not be less repugnant to liberty-loving American Episcopalians than to New England Congregationalists. In important particulars, the American Episcopal Church, with its lay representation in the ruling bodies, differs from the polity which still continues in the National Church of England. On the other hand, New England Puritanism hath smoothed its "wrinkled front." Modes of worship and customs of Christian life, which formed a part of the ground of resistance made to sacerdotalism in the Church, and to the enforcement of "traditions of the elders" as a binding law, are now disappearing. We do not abjure the observance of time-honored festivals, such as Christmas and Easter, even if no Biblical command can be adduced in support of it. Nor do we put under the ban Gothic architecture, windows of stained glass, or organ music. We read the Scriptures in Church; we connect a religious service with the marriage ceremony. We do not regard the use of written prayers as prohibited, and while unwilling to give up the use of extemporaneous supplication in the public services of religion, we find ourselves edified by the litanies and collects which have been handed down from other lands and ages. There is a cordial willingness in each of these divisions of Christian people, to recognize whatever worth of character, and beauty and beneficence in the Christian life, are manifested by the other. More and more there is coöperation in various channels of religious and philanthropic action. Proposals look-

ing to a more intimate union of these ecclesiastical bodies, which spring from a common parentage, surely are entitled to a hospitable acknowledgment.

But what is the nature of the union that is suggested? The one-ness which Christ predicted of his followers and which he prayed might continue, was a spiritual unity. It was a unity in heart and mind, imaged by the unity of the Son and the Father. As to visible unity, what are we to desire? Such a unity as Rome asserts and demands is what the English Church, from the Reformation until now, has repudiated. The Protestant ideal, in England as elsewhere, was National Churches, each independent in its government and ceremonies, but standing in intercommunion with one another. If the invitation of the American bishops to accept the "historic Episcopate" be an invitation to enter the Episcopal Church, it is just like the invitation which every one of the different denominations is, all the time, practically presenting to their fellow Christians. Even the Pope of Rome sent out a missive, before the Vatican Council, appealing to all baptized persons to return to the fold of the universal shepherd, who assumes to fill the office of St. Peter. Or the meaning of the American bishops may be that the adoption of the "historic Episcopate" is a necessary step to *intercommunion* between the Episcopal Church and—for example—the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches. But if this be the meaning, and the various denominations are not to be absorbed, or brought under the superintending authority of bishops of the Episcopal Church as it now exists, such a plan would bring in a plurality of bishops in each district or portion of our territory.* Leaving the question of interpreta-

*In the Report of the Committee of the House of Bishops, it was stated that the [Episcopal] Church did "not seek to absorb other Communion, but to coöperate with them on the basis of a common Faith and Order, to discountenance schism, and to heal the wounds of the Body of Christ." The report placed among the essentials for "the restoration of unity" "the Historic Episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations," etc. The report expressed a desire "to enter into brotherly conference with other Christian bodies "seeking the restoration of the organic Unity of the church, with a view to the earnest study of the conditions" etc. The recent Lambeth Conference (1888), for the purpose of "supplying the basis on which approach might be, under God's blessing, made

tion, I remark that the recommendation of the Episcopate, which the overture of the bishops involves, has to encounter a serious difficulty. If it were a suggestion that the adoption of Episcopal government, including the system of ordination by bishops, would be a means of promoting unity, and of putting an end to sectarian divisions, not a little might be said in behalf of such a proposal. But where a suggestion of this character is put in the form of an indispensable condition of ecclesiastical fellowship, then it virtually calls upon us to allow that the Episcopate in the historic line is of the essence of the Church. It makes of Episcopacy what Luther made justification by faith to be—the article of a standing or falling Church. This is too large a demand. There are those who might have no quarrel with Episcopacy as a form of government. There are those who, for the sake of peace and union, might be willing even to resign their preferences for another scheme of polity. But to say by word or act that Episcopal government, with or without the accompaniment of an alleged Apostolic succession, is a part of the substance of the Christian religion—"a part," to quote from the American bishops, "of the sacred deposit of Christian faith and order committed by Christ and his Apostles to the church"—this is too much to expect of the descendants of the Puritans. It is too much to expect of impartial students of the first two centuries of Christian history. Bear in mind that, according to the general conviction of Protestants, the idea of a special priesthood in the Church was a principal fountain of corruption in doctrine and practice, from the day when that idea crept in. When the Episcopal polity is held to be enjoined of God, it is extremely difficult to keep out the sacerdotal idea as the basis and warrant of this tenet. I venture to suggest that the offer of Episcopacy would have a greater towards reunion with non-conforming bodies," adopted substantially the Articles of the American Report, the principal difference being the addition of the Apostles' Creed to the Nicene Creed, in the doctrinal article. The Lambeth Conference styles its Articles "a basis on which approach may be by God's blessing made towards 'Home Reunion.' In its Encyclical Letter it expresses a readiness to enter "into brotherly conference with any of those who may desire intercommunion with us in a more or less perfect form." "We lay down conditions"—so reads the Letter—"on which such intercommunion is, in our opinion, and according to our conviction, possible."

chance of acceptance, were it preceded or attended with a frank offer of intercommunion whether Episcopacy were accepted or not. The advantages of a more moderate theory of Episcopal government, apart from its being the only tenable ground in view of the facts of history, are manifold. It affords an escape from the embarrassment which arises from the juxtaposition of Anglican and Roman Catholic bishops, each claiming jurisdiction in the same territory, both professing to stand in the true line of Apostolic Succession, and the Anglican, at least, conceding to the Roman Catholic the justice of his claim. If the fundamental doctrine of the Apostolic Succession, and of grace transmitted in the act of ordination, be affirmed, it is not so easy to see how the demand of allegiance on the part of a Roman Catholic bishop, in a land like ours, where there is no establishment of religion, can be resisted. If it is said that his place in the succession has not kept him from falling into such error as justifies the ignoring of his priestly character, what amount of error shall be considered sufficient to divest him of sacerdotal authority?

Christian union, for which, as we hear, there is a yearning on all sides, will not be attained by artificial agencies. It will not come to pass through diplomatic negotiations and compromises, and by treaties framed by ecclesiastical leaders. Historical science will have something to do in bringing to pass this result. That no specific form of Church government can boast of being an Apostolic ordinance for all time is a verdict which historical scholars are rapidly approaching unanimity in rendering. The divine right of a particular form of Church organization will follow the divine right of kings, and repose in the same tomb. The over-valuing of externals in religion will be seen to be at variance with the whole drift of the teaching of Christ, and with the nature of the Christian, as distinguished from the Old Testament, dispensation. A sense of the supreme importance of the Christian spirit, of the religion of the heart, will more and more impress all religious bodies with the comparative insignificance of the differences in polity, over which there has been so hot contention. The deep import of the words of Jesus to the woman of Samaria concerning worship will be better understood. The battle which all Christian be-

lievers have to wage with materialistic atheism will quicken their mutual sympathies, and make them conscious that they have a common cause. The conflict which Protestants as a body, have to carry forward in opposition to the pretensions and dogmas of Rome, will convince them that no half-way ground is tenable, and move them to take up a position such as the Protestant Reformers in all countries were once united in holding. More than all, the impulse to practical coöperation in doing good in the name of Christ, will impel Christian men, of whatever name or form of worship, to overleap the barriers of sect. The Shibboleths of party will one day cease to be heard. The process of undermining the walls that part good men from one another is going forward with a silent but irresistible energy. Now that the non-Christian nations with their diverse religions, are brought into close intercourse with the Christian peoples; now that we cannot avoid the competition with rival systems, the traditional religions of countless multitudes of the human race, sectarian warfare is more and more felt to be both disgraceful and perilous. Something like a united front must be presented by the professed believers in the Gospel, if they are not prepared to disregard the prayer of Christ that his disciples might be one, in order, as he said "that the world may know that thou hast sent me." It is our wisdom, then, not to magnify points of dissent among Christian churches, to lay due emphasis on whatever they hold and practise in common, to make rightful and useful concessions for the sake of union among brethren, and to watch for providential indications which appear to point to a path in which all the sincere adherents of our common faith may walk together.

GEORGE P. FISHER.

**ARTICLE II.—THE AMERICAN BOARD AND THE
LATE BOSTON COUNCIL.**

THE facts and events which led to the call of this Council were briefly as follows: Mr. William H. Noyes, a member of the Theological Seminary at Andover, and graduate of 1886, in May of that year offered himself to the Prudential Committee of the American Board as a missionary to Japan, giving at the same time a brief statement of his theological beliefs. At the suggestion of the Committee, on the 12th of June, he met the three Secretaries for an extended exposition of his views, a report of which as agreed upon by the Secretaries (without so far as appears any further conference with him) was presented to the Committee. With this report as the basis for their action, on the 15th of June the Committee decided that "it was inexpedient to appoint Mr. Noyes a missionary of the Board at present." "It was voted that the statement of the Secretaries concerning Mr. Noyes' views be submitted to him for approval or for modification as he may desire, and copies of the same, after such approval or modification has been given, be furnished to the Committee."

On the 17th of June Mr. Noyes sent to the Committee a very long communication restating and modifying somewhat the report of his views made by the Secretaries. This was read to the Committee the day following and it was decided "that no change in the action of the last meeting was called for." Mr. Noyes was also informed that it is "inexpedient to appoint" him "a missionary of the Board at present." To this Mr. Noyes replied asking for the reasons for the decision of the Committee and for the interpretation of the phrase "at present." In April, 1887 (after the re-appointment of Mr. R. A. Hume) a renewed application was made by Mr. Noyes and a friend, accompanied by an extended statement of their theological views, in which there is a minute explanation of their opinions in regard to the relation of the heathen to the offers of

the gospel. To this a *Secretary* replies, noting the application as failing to answer the questions suggested in a letter from the Clerk of the Committee, as to whether Mr. Noyes' views corresponded to those ordinarily held by several churches in the vicinity of Boston, and how they would stand the test of the Resolutions passed at Des Moines. To this Mr. Noyes replied that he had designed only to explain his own views previously expressed, to which he still adhered, and had supposed the action at Des Moines was designed to be *cautionary* rather than *mandatory*. To which the Committee replied through their clerk that the Committee were bound by the instructions of the Board and in obedience to those instructions must decline to receive him as a missionary.

This letter closes the first chapter in this somewhat memorable history. The story cannot fail to suggest the inquiry whether the traditionary methods of communication between the Prudential Committee and candidates for appointment to missionary service are not susceptible of a radical improvement, at least in all cases of special difficulty or delicacy. The old rule which has been sanctioned by the experience of ages that a witness or accused person or plaintiff should be confronted with his judge and jury surely holds in the present instance. The simple perusal of the condensed recast of Mr. Noyes' opinions which is given by the Secretaries, especially when contrasted with the modifications and re-statements of the same by Mr. Noyes, suggests all that need be said to the effect that in respect to all critical points whether of opinion or policy, the missionary should have direct access to those who hold to him still higher relations than those of judges and jurors. The functions of the Secretaries are sufficiently ample and various to task all their energies and wisdom, and their responsibilities are sufficiently onerous and trying to entitle them to all the relief which can possibly be accorded to them. The sympathy and support which might come to the missionaries themselves from the assurance and conviction that they were personally known by the Board whose duty it is to decide so many questions for them, might not unfrequently be of important service to them when in the field of conflict and self-denial and loneliness.

After this decision Mr. Noyes could do nothing but seek some other field of labor, and such a field he soon found in the Berkeley Street Church in Boston, inasmuch as this church had entered upon a somewhat extended scheme of home missionary effort, and he was soon employed as an assistant to the pastor. In this capacity he spent somewhat more than a year of service, with great acceptance to the congregation and with success proportioned to his ardor. In the meantime his missionary zeal had not abated, and his wishes being made known to the church, and especially to its younger members, the question was naturally suggested why cannot we send him to Japan as our missionary? Doubtless the possibility of sending one or more missionaries independently of the American Board had also occurred to not a few of its liberal contributors as a possible relief from the tension occasioned by the policy which had seemed to have been inaugurated and yet had failed to be universally approved. The money required for the support of Mr. Noyes for two or three years was soon provided, and a council of churches was called at the request of the Berkeley Street Church to ordain Mr. Noyes as a foreign missionary.

This council met on the 22d of October and was composed, as was soon made obvious, of members who were pledged to no theory or plan of procedure and committed to no theological party. After some interchange of opinions and the rejection of two or three tentative propositions, the council resolved to examine the candidate with reference to his ordination as a foreign missionary. The examination was long and thorough, and as full as could be desired upon eschatology. To all the questions proposed frank and definite answers were given. In the discussions which followed no exception was taken to the opinions avowed by Mr. Noyes one or all as disqualifying the candidate for the missionary work or as inconsistent with substantial orthodoxy. When the vote was taken upon the proposition which prevailed, it was of twenty-five to one, and the one vote was understood not to relate to the matter of orthodoxy. The candidate moreover, insisted that the statements which he made to the Council were for substance the same which he had made to the Secretaries, while he contended that for some reason or other his real opinions had not been under-

stood, which fact he explained in part by the fact that his communications were chiefly answers to questions proposed by his examiners, such answers being usually attempts to adjust his own positions to those phrased by his questioner, or to recast these statements in his own language. The examination and discussions of the Council occupied several hours, and the services did not begin till 9 o'clock of the evening ; finishing the second chapter of this history.

The third begins with the application to the Prudential Committee from the Berkeley Street Church that they would accept its ordained foreign missionary and send him to Japan. In reply came the proposition that Mr. Noyes should meet the Committee. At the interview which followed he was met at the outset by the request that he would reconcile some of the opinions which he had expressed before the Council with those which had been reported by the Secretaries as having been held and expressed by him more than a year previous. To this he replied that he would prefer that no reference should be made to statements made so long ago and under circumstances so peculiar that he could neither affirm nor deny them, but would present the statement which he had made to the Council ; this and this only. The reasons for taking this position are given at great length by Mr. Noyes in his final letter to the church—embodying as it does a detailed statement of what he considered misrepresentations of the views which he had expressed and actually holds. The Committee decline to accept his communication to the Council as an exposition of his actual and present creed. They require in addition an adjustment between what he is understood or reported to have said months, and even years ago, utterances of which he does not acknowledge the correctness of the construction or the report. They also refer to the resolutions at Des Moines and Springfield as giving them no discretion in the matter. They notice what they consider an inconsistency between two statements of his and other assertions and inferences, and venture the opinion that by his own showing Mr. Noyes cannot be included among those whom the President of the Board would except from the operation of the resolutions of Springfield and Des Moines. The Committee send a letter and Mr. Noyes a communication to the church and the church accepts Mr. Noyes as its missionary.

This is a brief but sad story, but, even in this story the most significant events have been omitted. We refer to the charges of heresy which have been brought against one of the Professors in the Theological Seminary at Andover before the public and the Trustees, and to the fact that certain doctrines which as supposed to be taught by him were made the subject of public condemnation at at least two of the annual meetings of the American Board. It is moreover asserted very confidently that these doctrines are regarded as heretical and subversive of the Gospel by the great majority of the Congregational and Presbyterian ministers of the United States.

We do not propose to arbitrate between any of these contending parties but would simply offer a few suggestions in relation to the subject matter of this discussion which is upon us and the manner in which it should be conducted.

We cannot but regard it as most unfortunate that the officers and members and patrons of the American Board have become involved in a theological controversy and this upon a question which is capable of arousing any amount of conscientious conviction and honest prejudice. The very language of the resolutions passed with so much confidence and eclat at Des Moines exemplifies our meaning. The second of these resolutions is simply and solely a theological pronunciamento of the Corporation expressing the grave apprehension of the body in respect to certain tendencies of a doctrine which has been recently broached and diligently propagated as being divisive and pernicious and dangerous, and its approval of the action of the Committee in guarding the Board from any committal to any sanction of that doctrine, and advising a continuance of the caution, etc. This resolution is wholly gratuitous and fraught with evil consequences. Were there occasion for any action in the premises the first resolution is ample and business-like; whereas the second in principle and profession invests the Prudential Committee with the function and enjoins the duty of seeing that a certain doctrine does not receive its sanction. All this may have been accidental, but surely somebody has blundered in respect to it and the blunder has been disastrous if we may judge by the use to which it has been applied. Had there been any occasion to affirm a doctrinal

basis freshly composed and authoritatively endorsed this could have been furnished in the creed drawn up by the "Creed Commission" and signed by all its members except two, one of whom was the Home Secretary of the American Board, and as is well known on the ground of dissatisfaction with its eschatological deliverance.

An action of so grave a character can only be justified by a grave occasion and the occasion should pertain to the missionary work. If any doctrine should be stamped with reprobation surely it should be one which might be preached with mischievous effect on the missionary field. But by its very terms and import, the doctrine in question could concern only those to whom the missionary could never come and whom he could never address. To stamp it with reprobation and to reject a missionary who believed it but who by its very terms could have no occasion to use it or only in a very indirect fashion seems to be so far removed from the plain common sense and the gentle charity of the New Testament as to fail utterly of any Christian vindication. The only explanation that can be given is suggested by the expressed desire that the Prudential Committee should "carefully guard the Board from any committal to the approval of that doctrine," which, in other words, means that one of the functions of the Prudential Committee is to look after the special and private theological opinions of its missionaries as related to the interests of general and special orthodoxy—over and above their relations to the missionary work.

How mischievous and dangerous such a policy would be we need use no words to show. How inconsistent and incongruous with the history of theological investigation in the United States and in our Congregational churches we need take no pains to prove. We New Englanders rejoice in our religious enterprise and our practical zeal and glory in their results as achieved at home and abroad, but we should never forget that the courage and enterprise which have been shown in all the forms of practical and theological thinking have had quite as much to do with these results as the money which we have expended and the lives which we have sacrificed in the missionary field. If we may boast of New England, the greater and the less, the

New England of the West and the East, for any reason, it is for the courage of its practical and speculative thinking within the lines and along the borders of our churches and on the summits of speculative inquiry. We need not say how manfully the expounders and defenders of Christian speculation and Christian exegesis have fought the good fight of faith under the ban of heresy—nor how Edwards laid the foundation of an improved theology by daring to apply to its truths the methods of the new philosophy, and Moses Stuart was bold to introduce to Andover Hill the new German Hermeneutics under difficulties and an odium no less serious than those which have befallen his successors. All that we need to contend for is simply tolerance, and on the ground that the opinions now in discussion do not concern the essentials of the Christian faith, and therefore are entitled to a charitable forbearance by those who reject them.

There are, moreover, higher and more important considerations especially to the Christian minister and these have much to do with the hesitation and slowness with which ready-made and dogmatic assertions in respect to future retribution should be asserted and responded to. There can be no question that a great change has come over the Christian church of modern days in respect to its views of the nature of the retributions which await the rejectors of the gospel and that a more or less pervasive and subtle skepticism contend with more or less well-grounded fears. That this is often the consequence of willful ignorance and thoughtlessness may be admitted without denying that the certainty and seriousness of such retributions are capable of rational vindication. The attendants in most of our churches who recognize themselves as without a living Christian faith would be outraged by such representations of the condition of the lost, as one finds in the sermons of Jonathan Edwards or Jeremy Taylor. They never hear them and they would not accept them if they should. What representations ought they to hear in their place? What theory and conception of the future life of the rejector of Christ ought they to confront in the faithful and rational ministrations of the gospel? We do not wonder that these questions often come home to the heart of the preacher, especially of the young preacher, and that in view of what he knows and what he thinks, he should be moved with conscien-

tious impatience by the ready and flippant dogmatism which has nothing better to give than a traditional answer or a solemn and suspicious caution. The reader of the clever novel that makes sport of the exaggerated orthodoxies of other times joins in the laughter at the caricature but finds in the caricature no response to his convictions concerning the moral seriousness and infinite pathos of that other life, in which the tares and wheat are certain to be reaped. Meanwhile the theological adviser of our ingenious youth warns him abundantly of his danger, but fails to instruct him satisfactorily in respect to the errors of the times, or the solemn verities by which these errors are to be confronted and put to shame.

It is also more and more obvious that the New Testament itself which seems so plain to the *Bible reader* and is so plain to him in respect to what is vital to his welfare, opens manifold difficulties to the *Bible student* in respect to the last things which are comprehended under the second coming of Christ and the events before and after. We need not state what these difficulties are, but it is well known to the accomplished student and interpreter that they raise many more questions than it is easy to answer, and suggest manifold possibilities between which it is not always easy to decide. Some of these exceptional solutions have been accepted with the utmost confidence even by missionaries of the American Board, and been preached with great ardor as the very central truths of the gospel, while they have been rejected, though tolerated, by many who call themselves evangelical Christians. Conspicuous among these theories are those which pertain to the intermediate state as variously held and interpreted. Here also a large and a narrow toleration has been accorded by different schools. The special theory which has occasioned so serious a disturbance in our Board of Missions has found favor with some of the ablest and noblest thinkers in the German evangelical schools, such as Nitzsch, Julius Müller, and Dorner, and manifestly relieves the sensitive mind of one class of serious difficulties. To a reasonable mind it would seem to be entitled to that tolerance which the difficulties of the subject matter justify and require. That well read and thoughtful students should often hesitate and delay in forming their conclusions should occasion no surprise and bring

no condemnation. That they should now and then change their theories with the authors whom they read is no more than is natural. That any greater fixedness or immutability of opinion should be expected of one who proposes to be a missionary abroad than is expected from ordinary mortals is simply puerile and preposterous. That it is bad economy to send inferior men into trying and difficult positions is emphatically true, but when the question comes to be asked by what tests will you try and form your superior men, it is soon discovered that it is not the man who asks the fewest questions or tests the fewest theories that settles upon the strongest faith or faces most readily the martyr's fire. It is also more and more distinctly understood that in the missionary field preëminently it is the way a man holds and exemplifies the faith which he holds that tells most effectually upon the way he defends and enforces it, and this is usually determined by the way in which he gained it; whether it was the product of hard-fought convictions oftentimes slowly won or of dicta tamely accepted and therefore feebly held.

While the signs of the times indicate that Christian missions are full of promise and inspiration, it were a pity that in obedience to a theological theory or the impulses of a narrow intolerance any gifted and zealous Christian youth should be repelled from responding to the call Go preach my gospel.

We cannot but recall the fact that, in the dawn of modern missions, the truth was more and more distinctly seen by prophetic minds, that the new movement of evangelistic zeal would assuredly give to the church a simpler, a more biblical, a more loving, and a more catholic theology, as well as a larger inspiration of the Christian life. This anticipation has been signally fulfilled in our country, and very largely by the agency of the Congregational churches. While other bodies have been rent in twain by the tension of the new theological and evangelical life, these churches have been schooled by their controversies into wiser practical lessons of tolerance and freedom on the one hand, and fervor and consecration on the other. God forbid that we should barter our theological freedom, or our evangelistic zeal, for dogmatic intolerance or ecclesiastical management.

NOAH PORTER.

ARTICLE III.—THE ETHICS OF LABOR.

WE hear a great deal just at the present time about the rights and wrongs of labor. Much has been said and written upon the subject by thoughtful persons from every class of society, and by agitators and busybodies who are too often the very reverse of thoughtful. It is generally spoken of as a social question, and the moral aspect of the subject is by many either forgotten or ignored. Yet this is the most important of all elements; for it lies at the foundation of the subject. The words "rights" and "wrongs," are ethical terms, and whenever we use them we imply that we are dealing with a moral question, whether we recognize the fact or not. Whenever the terms are used in connection with labor and the laborer, there is the implication that labor has a certain moral value or a certain moral relation to society and to wealth. In other words, the amount of labor which each individual must perform in the course of his life and the proportion of wealth that he shall receive in return for his labor are not mere problems of science, to be solved by the skillful adjustment of social machinery, and largely conditioned by the changing relations of society. They are questions of real moral gravity, to be answered by an appeal to the eternal principles of truth and righteousness; and every man will be held accountable at the bar of Divine justice for the way in which he answers them.

The majority of mankind look upon the world of society as a great reservoir from which, by some means honest or dishonest, they are to draw out whatever each one may consider necessary for his sustenance or enjoyment. They never ask who stores the reservoir, or what will become of their fellow-men when it is drained of its contents. Still less do they think that they have any duty in the matter of filling it. They say, "The world owes us a living and we are going to have it;" and they do not stop to enquire what is the ground of this indebtedness or whether it has any limit other than the limit of their own capacity to consume and to enjoy.

Such a claim needs but to be stated to be repudiated by every candid, intelligent mind. The fallacy is self-evident. It calls for no argument, but for indignant denial. The world owes no man a living; and whoever takes a living without earning it is a thief. Justice requires that each individual should receive his fair share of the means of earning a living; but these being put within his reach he alone is responsible for their use, and he has a right only to such a living as he actually produces from them. The existing wealth of the world is simply that which men have produced by applying their energy to the God-given means of production. Each man, therefore, has a right to take from this accumulated store of wealth just as much as he puts into it, and no more; neither may he put in of one kind and take out of another kind except by permission. He may not put in gravel and demand gold in return unless his fellow-men really want gravel and are willing to pay for it with the precious metal.

The rights of labor may be easily and accurately stated. Having a just share of the means of production every laborer may claim just what he produces therefrom, nothing more and nothing less. If he desires other products he may either change the direction of his labor so as to secure them directly, or he may exchange his own products for the products of others, the amounts given and received being determined by the law of supply and demand.

There is a notion quite prevalent among laboring people that the man who does the hardest work ought to receive the largest pay, and so should be the richest of men and live in the greatest luxury. Those who hold this theory usually estimate the severity of labor from a wholly physical standpoint. A simple illustration will suffice to show the fallacy of this idea. Let two men occupy adjoining fields. One labors diligently but moderately, cultivating his land and raises a fine crop. The other rolls a huge rock about his field from morning till night and day after day, toiling much more severely than his neighbor but producing no crop. Should the weary, struggling rock-roller have a better living than the easy-going farmer? Of course not. By why not? Because his labor, hard though it may have been, has produced nothing. His time and energy

have been wasted. He has accomplished nothing by rolling the rock about his field. He has not added one penny worth to the world's store of wealth, therefore he has no right to take anything from the common store for his livelihood. Indeed, had all men spent their time and strength in rolling rocks, though all might have labored diligently and become very much exhausted by their labor, there would have been no food for anybody and all must have starved. It is not, therefore, the severity of labor, but its productiveness, that determines its economic value. Not the hardest worker but the greatest producer is worthy of the largest pay.

Production is accomplished in two ways, directly and indirectly, and it is important that we should recognize the latter as well as the former method. If a man raises a thousand bushels of potatoes, and in the natural order of things one-half of them would be allowed to decay for want of a market, the man who increases the facilities of transportation so as to save the five hundred bushels by bringing them at once to market, is as truly a producer as though he had himself raised five hundred bushels of potatoes. This is what is meant by indirect production. Its forms and methods are innumerable; but its result is always the same, viz: to increase the aggregate amount of wealth in the world.

If a hundred men are engaged in a certain manufacture, and one of them, instead of working as the others do, turns his mind to the study of mechanics and invents a machine that shall save a great deal of hard labor and at the same time shall double the producing power of the other ninety-nine, that one has done more than any other to increase the amount of production, hence he is deserving of higher wages than the others. He has become a producer indirectly by increasing the power of direct producers.

Again, if a hundred men are cultivating the soil ignorantly and with rude implements and one comes to them and, without touching his hands to the work, instructs the ignorant and unskilled laborers so that their crops are much larger while their labor is appreciably lightened, the instructor becomes the greatest producer of all, though he does not directly produce anything.

It is for this reason that the overseer in a factory, or the manager of any kind of work receives higher wages than the ordinary workman. His work may not be as hard as theirs, but without him their labor would be much less productive and consequently much less valuable. By arranging and controlling the work of all, he makes it possible for them to work together and to use their time and energy to the best possible advantage. In this way their power of production is greatly augmented. The "captains of industry," who direct the work of others, are our greatest producers, since it is their skill which adds most to the wealth of the community.

The importance of indirect production is too often underestimated, not to say wilfully belittled by popular socialistic agitators. Even among thoughtful and intelligent writers on social economy there are not a few who look upon all indirect producers as drones eating up the honey which the workers have gathered. Take a single illustration from the pen of Adam Smith:

"The labor of some of the most respectable orders in society is, like that of menial servants, unproductive of any value, and does not fix or realize itself in any permanent subject or vendible commodity, which endures after the labor is past, and for which an equal quantity of labor could afterwards be procured. The sovereign, for example, with all the officers both of justice and of war who serve under him, the whole army and navy are unproductive laborers. They are the servants of the public, and are maintained by a part of the annual produce of the industry of other people. Their service, how honorable, how useful, or how necessary soever, produces nothing for which an equal quantity of service can afterward be procured. The protection, security, and defence of the commonwealth, the effect of their labor for this year, will not purchase its protection, security, and defence for the year to come. In the same class must be ranked some both of the gravest and most important, and some of the most frivolous professions; churchmen, lawyers, physicians, men of letters of all kinds, players, buffoons, musicians, opera singers, opera dancers, etc. The labor of the meanest of these has a certain value regulated by the very same principles which regulate that of every other sort of

labor: and that of the noblest and most useful produces nothing which could afterwards purchase or procure an equal quantity of labor."

This passage well expresses the popular idea regarding productive labor, yet it is very short-sighted and misleading. Every man ought to be a productive laborer in some way, but to insist that every man become a direct producer is to roll back the wheels of civilization many centuries. It would benefit none, but would on the contrary result in great injury and loss to all classes of society, the aggregate amount of production would be lessened and the nation's store of wealth would grow rapidly smaller.

Consider the work of some of the professions which the great economist styles unproductive and see if they do not play an important part in the production of wealth. Setting aside for the moment the highest ideal of wealth, let us test the productiveness of each profession by its efficiency in increasing the material riches of the world.

Officers of state and magistrates are not direct producers it is true; but they occupy essentially the same position as overseers in any large establishment. By watching over and directing and adjusting the relations of the different classes of society, they enable all to work together harmoniously and without waste of energy. When their work is well and faithfully performed, the private citizens of the community are able to produce much more than all could do without such orderly arrangement.

Clergymen do not add directly to the material wealth of the country by their professional labor. Yet they are indirect producers just in proportion as their preaching tends to elevate men, and to make them more intelligently and conscientiously industrious. The productive efficiency of the work of the Christian clergy is most readily seen by observing the effects of foreign missionary work. In cases where the Gospel has been preached in heathen lands the results may be calculated with comparative accuracy. Under the influence of Christian preaching, squalor gives place to comfort, idleness to thrift, and poverty to comparative plenty. More than all this, it is a well attested fact that for every dollar that England and America

have spent in foreign missionary effort they have received, as a direct result, more than ten dollars in trade. Such results are more conspicuous in mission fields than in Christian lands, but they are no more real. The preaching of Gospel truth in America and Europe closes many avenues of waste. It is bringing war to an end. It reduces the expense of armies and police. In good time it will make an end of intemperance. Surely that is productive labor which in so many ways tends to increase the wealth of mankind.

Journalists are not direct producers; but what would be the effect upon society and the world if their labor were discontinued? The most important manufacturing and commercial interests in the land would be crippled. For successful and profitable production two conditions are necessary—capacity to produce, and a market for the commodity produced. Without the latter the former is of no avail. The farmer who raises ten thousand bushels of corn is no better off than his neighbor who raises only five hundred bushels unless he can sell his surplus to those who need it for consumption. Hence the newspaper, by publishing the needs of the various markets and in countless lines of advertising and general information, brings producers and markets readily into contact and thus becomes a potent factor in production.

In a similar way the railway magnate becomes a producer. With iron links he joins together the most distantly separated producers and consumers. With constantly increasing speed he brings the produce of the great western farms to the doors of the workmen and manufacturers in the east. He takes even the most perishable fruits from southern climes and places them all fresh and tempting on the tables of consumers at the north. For the trifling sum of a cent and a quarter he transports a ton of freight a mile, so that the most distant markets are now reached with less expense than was once incurred in reaching those but a few miles from home. For this reason production has been greatly stimulated and the latent resources of our country have been rapidly developed. But for the skill and energy of our great railroad men the present wealth and prosperity of the American nation would still be an incredible prophecy.

Teachers are producers indirectly, because, in the exercise of their profession, they are instructing those who shall afterwards engage in productive labor, and are fitting them to do more and better work than they could do if uneducated.

Lawyers are also indirect producers, in so far as their profession is a necessary part of the machinery of society. Whatever of their labor is given to quibbling and to pettifogging is wasted. But the time and effort spent in positive directions such as the perfecting of laws, the maintenance of strict justice, and adjusting more equitably the relations of men, prevents friction and loss and is, therefore, properly considered productive labor.

So, too, the physician, by preserving the life and vigor of many productive workers, himself becomes a producer. The scientist discovers the laws and principles upon which the success of labor depends and thus makes the efforts of the laborer more effective, and the inventor furnishes new and better instruments of labor, both increasing the capacity of the productive worker so that with the same outlay of energy he may produce much more, or producing the same may live more easily and toil less severely. Hence they too may claim a place in the ranks of productive laborers.

The tradesman and banker, by facilitating the profitable or economical exchange of productions, become indirect producers. Even those professions which have no other end than to amuse the public, as the profession of actors and singers, may be considered productive in so far as they afford needed recreation, giving rest to weary toilers, and prolonging or increasing their power to work. The necessity in this direction is, however, so slight in comparison with the number of people thus employed, and the general effect of their labor is such that we must include the great majority of public amusers among unproductive laborers.

We cannot draw a definite line between the different trades or professions, and declare that the representatives of one profession are all productive laborers, while those of some other profession are all unproductive; for those professions which we consider most useless may become productive in certain circumstances, and those which are generally accounted productive

may likewise become unproductive. If ten men are working together as farmers, it may be to the advantage of all that one should refrain from tilling the soil and give his time to the manufacture and repairing of tools. If by so doing he really facilitates the work of all and secures a greater crop, his labor is as truly productive as is that of the other nine men. If, however, all should say: The tool-maker is a producer, therefore we will make tools; then, however diligently they labored, they would starve; for none would be real producers, since they would manufacture articles not needed for use.

This is actually the case whenever a trade or profession becomes overcrowded. There is no increase of valuable production proportionate to the increase of labor expended, consequently some must suffer want. Productiveness is not a mere matter of creative efficiency. Concerning everything created we must ask: Does it really supply any human need? And it is a question not of possibility, but of fact. Grain is a commodity largely in demand for food, but the farmer who raises grain when there is already more grain in the market than the world's population can consume, is not really a productive laborer. He adds nothing to the wealth of the world; for, since the supply of grain is already sufficient, all that he raises or its equivalent must go to waste. Every intelligent man ought therefore to carefully distinguish between severe toil and productive toil, and also between apparent productiveness and productiveness that meets and satisfies some real need of humanity.

The productiveness of labor determines its moral character as well as its economic value. Production is a duty. Unproductiveness is a sin. For him who possesses in any degree the capacity for production and does not utilize it, the fittest of all punishments is starvation. And this is the universal law whose operation is seen in any department of life where the Divine order is not set aside by human interference. He only has a right to live who makes his own living. He who merely extracts a living from the store which others have gathered is a public malefactor, even though he be content with the smallest pittance.

The popular method of estimating the respectability of labor is very short-sighted and often false. Public opinion condemns the thief who takes his neighbor's property by stealth or by force or by certain proscribed methods of gambling. But if he adopts the disguise of honest toil and labors diligently and regularly, even though he produces nothing by his toil, he may take as much as he can from the wealth which others have produced and no one will call him to account for his action. Or he may steal without toiling if he be shrewd enough to so entangle the lines of his stealing that his wealth when gained cannot be traced directly to individual losers; and his fellow-men, instead of censuring him, will only praise his skill as a financier. Consequently we find in every community a growing class of unproductive laborers. Often they are ambitious; but their ambition looks not to the real value of their labor. It only requires that their toil receive a rich remuneration. They spend all their energy and skill in filching the good things which have been gathered by the labor of their fellows. Like the drones in the bee-hive they are apt to make a great buzzing and to rush about with an important air as though the life of the entire community depended upon them; but with all their noise they gather no honey and only drain the cells which others have filled. Little pity do they deserve when the sting of an indignant worker puts an end to their lazy existence. It were well if the sting of public condemnation could forever make an end to the respectability of unproductive labor. That labor only is respectable—i. e. worthy of respect—which is productive of good, which makes the world richer, better, happier. They only are worthy of being counted in the ranks of labor whose toil is in some way productive, whose lives are spent in supplying the great needs of humanity. The mere money-maker—or accumulator, however valuable be the wealth accumulated—though he labor many long hours, and though his hands be hardened with toil and his brain racked with care, has no claim to honor or even to recognition among the workers of society.

GEORGE H. HUBBARD.

ARTICLE IV.—THE SECTS AND CHRISTIANITY.

How much do the sects work for Christianity and how much against it? It is plain that they work against it so far as they lay out strength on things which do not belong to it. And things do not belong to it about which men differ who acknowledge each other as equally good Christians. For instance, a good man in a Presbyterian and one in a Baptist church have not only the same Christian faith and morality, but the same form of both. Each trusts the other, religiously and socially, and believes that his influence and efforts are advancing the reign of Christ. Neither expects to stand any higher hereafter than the other for his specific peculiarities of opinion. How then can the public organs of the two bodies be justified in spending large space and pains over infant baptism and immersion? It is plain that neither the Pædobaptist nor the Baptist position can be of the essence of the gospel, since confessedly Christian faith and morals are equally well realized on both sides. When this difference is treated as an interesting historical development, resulting from human limitation, and justifiable, by sound arguments, on both sides, it is well treated. But when it is treated as of moral and spiritual import, all the energy that is thrown into it is deducted from Christianity. How enormous a deduction then sectarianism makes from Christianity in this one particular alone!

Disputes over church government, once so fierce, are plainly dying out. Less and less discount has to be made under this head from the forces working in the sects for Christianity. The rise of Methodism, a system necessarily Low Church in its doctrine of polity, has greatly helped to deaden this form of strife. Even the doctrine of Episcopal succession has become absorbed into something of more substance, that Semi-catholic form of Christianity which, being more acceptable to us than Roman Catholicism, is blending with our Protestantism, greatly to its advantage. The recent retreat in St. Louis, conducted by Father Grafton, and attended by clergymen of various de-

nominations, shows that Ritualism is coming to be a helping force, enriching, not dividing, our Christianity.

As disputes die down between the sects, do they die down within the sects? Plainly. Passing over imperfectly naturalized bodies, there is at present but one conspicuous American Christian sect within which a serious controversy is raging, Congregationalism. The dispute shows no disposition to spread, even into bodies nearest akin.

The various religious newspapers, therefore, among the Protestants of this country, can hardly be said, as a rule, to make very large discounts of sectarian zeal from their Christian zeal. They are largely petty, but not largely virulent. The common ground is all the time gaining on the peculiar grounds. Even a body which, like the Disciples, professes to believe that all the unimmersed are outside the covenant of salvation, yet maintains an organ which is so far from encouraging this way of thinking, that it is one of our most eminently Christian journals.

In what point then is sectarianism, in our country, doing the most harm to Christianity? At the west. Of what avail is it that the sects acknowledge each other as equally Christian, if they are eager to build themselves up as against others in places where others are already established, and where all the avowed Christians together are not numerous? The most shameful thing in sectarianism is, that it denies or excuses this notorious and shameful fact.

For what does each of the microscopic societies exist which in almost every western town triturate the very moderate amount of common Christianity into an impalpable powder? To bring the power of Christian faith, love, righteousness and purity to bear upon the characters of men? How much time or interest is left for that, where Christians are so few and churches are so many, that their members are mostly concerned to compete for customers, temporally in the week, and spiritually on the Sunday? The spiritual centre of an average town church in Nebraska and the neighboring regions is not the Eucharist, the sign and pledge of redeeming grace and regenerate devotion. It is the necktie party, the sign and pledge of shallow sociability, engineered for the sake of

ecclesiastical gains, which, for Christ's purposes, are worth nothing when made. Who can pretend that in these regions the gospel is a power which in any great measure moulds public sentiment? I do not speak of the noble State of Iowa, but of States farther west. Of course these are Christian States, in the sense that the generally acknowledged standard of belief and morals is Christianity. But if the only organisms which are charged with propagating it are so numerous and small as to be absorbed in the one effort to live, how much are they worth? Dr. Arnold told a great deal of truth when he said that few new communities have ever grown up under more undesirable moral and religious influences than the Western States and Territories of America.

The best thing about these wretched little intrigues for the preoccupation of every place in the west where there is a grocery and a blacksmith's shop, is, that the churches are really becoming ashamed of them, and that schemes of comity, though often baffled, are as often renewed.

Yet if we suppose that such schemes were successful, would an amalgamation of spiritual impotences generate a spiritual power? Hardly. It would only be a negative preparation for the effectiveness of something that had a positive origin. Allowing that the conflict of sects impedes Christianity, the collapse of sects might not greatly advance it. A new sense of a new meaning of Christ's message, for our age, must supervene, or the decline of sectarianism might do harm rather than good, causing a decline of that incidental interest in the gospel which clings to the skirts of sectarian propagandism. Mere tradition can never repair the ravages of protracted division. There must be a sense of a present working of Christ. And this can only be realized in a form of the church which is not a mere neutralization of opposites, but an effective embodiment of opposites. Such a positive reincorporation of the gospel can be brought about by no schemes of comity, or union. The acknowledgment of a disease does not provide the remedy. Yet in God's goodness the genuine sense of a spiritual infirmity implies the nearness of the remedy.

But what of the great antagonism of Catholicism and Protestantism? Is there not here an immense waste of Chris-

tian force? Of course this question does not arise to those to whom Catholicism is Antichrist. Such pass comfortably over a great many questions, as, for instance, how that can be Antichrist which commends everything that the early martyrs commended, and abhors the most of the things that they abhorred; how that can be Antichrist which rests upon the foundation of the great creeds of the church, and which declares that man, and him only, to be effectively in the way of salvation, who, be he within or without its communion, loves God, desires to see all men following Christ, aims after love, righteousness and purity, is helpful to all that need help, and, while on earth lives as a citizen of eternity? If that is the doctrine of Antichrist, what is the doctrine of Christ? All such polemics against Catholicism are a plain deduction from the force that is left to be spent for Christianity, and the same is true of the corresponding polemics against Protestantism

But are we really to say that Christians are working against Christianity whenever they argue against anything said or done by Christians? That would be insanity. Admonition, rebuke, and if necessary, severe invective, are, and always have been, from Christ till our time, an effective weapon of advancing Christian righteousness and truth. But so soon as we draw off into a separate body from those whom we rebuke, our rebuke is no longer helpful, but hostile. Even now Protestantism can rebuke Catholicism, without sectarian waste of force, provided it can do so in such a way as shows it to be aiming neither to Protestantize it nor destroy it, but to promote within it some common Christian good. And on the other hand there is much published in the *Catholic World* which can be commended as exhibiting a corresponding spirit towards us. But the vulgar polemics of the two sides are evil, and only evil, and that continually. How happy an omen, therefore, that in the last Congress of Christian Churches a Roman Catholic bishop was received with all honor as one of the speakers!

Is it, however, really true, that in all cases an annihilation of sectarian hostility would set just so much spiritual force free for the benefit of Christianity? Abstractly, yes: concretely, no. There are multitudes of excellent people, whose peculiarities are so inseparably intertwined with their Christianity, that

to destroy the one would be to destroy the other. So we have known people who were so used to narrow rooms, that they lost their aged wits in sheer amazement on coming to live in a large house. Too precipitate a pursuit of Christian unity would do the same mischief for a great many religiously. We need carefully to distinguish this necessity of limitation from mere partisanship. Each is an evil, but the latter is an evil only, the former is an evil fencing in an inestimable good.

But there is a deeper sectarian division than even that between Catholicism and Protestantism; it is that between religion and the world. This cannot be defended by the New Testament. There we find the antithesis between the church and the world, but not between religion and the world. To the apostles, the world means paganism, controlling the world that then was, alike civilly and religiously, and equally ineffective, and defiling on both sides. And the church includes the whole order of the new life, not merely the side of worship. The disproportionate weight long thrown on the latter side may have been an historical necessity, but it is none the less a sectarian limitation. Christian morality is just as specifically distinct from all other as Christian worship. And men who are deeply interested in ethics, and slightly interested in the immediately religious side of things, may be, not only specifically, but quite as eminently, Christian, as men of the other mood. It has been said that the church is only secondarily a teacher of ethics. This may be true of the church, but not of Christ. In him, as Dorner points out, ethics and religion are inseparably one thing.

Therefore, even allowing that sectarian animosities have greatly declined, there is a vast amount of ecclesiastical detritus left to cumber the ground, and to impede the realization of the aims of Christ. There is a deep-rooted assumption in the popular mind, that ecclesiastical interests and machinery have a specific value and holiness of their own. To be sure, this is only a form of the general disposition of humanity, to treat means as having a value over and above their relation to ends. But it works against Christianity. All the avowedly anti-Christian movements taken together are not so dangerous to the future effectiveness of Christianity, as the assumption of

ecclesiasticism, that it is still the chief embodiment of the working Christian forces. Nor are those forms of religion which have the least of ritual necessarily the fullest of Christian substance. Sometimes movements whose organization is highly hierarchical and their rites highly elaborate are very highly charged with an ethically regenerating instinct. Ecclesiasticism, in the unfavorable sense, is a very different thing from a highly developed ecclesiastical life. It is the further relations of this which determine whether Christianity stagnates or advances within it. But can there be any drearier reading than a great part of what are called our religious journals? "The weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith," are by no means neglected in them. But they are loaded down with an amount of ecclesiastical rubbish, whose value it is hard to discover. Ultimate value it has none, and its instrumental value has to be largely taken on faith.

Ecclesiastical Christianity, therefore, in this exaggeration, may be termed a federal unity of all the sects, working against ethical Christianity. The results are unhappy, for ethical Christianity, unless reinforced from religious founts, tends strongly to degenerate into an atheistic Confucianism, and ecclesiastical Christianity, unless strongly directed towards ethical ends, tends to degenerate into an unprofitable mysticism, or into mere sentimentalism. An equilibrium between these two variable factors is hardly to be found in any one individual, but taking the country through, we find a general disposition to settle into one. Even within that church which is the very embodiment of ecclesiastical Christianity, we find the *Catholic World* pleading energetically for the laying aside of the fantastic devotions which flourish in Catholic Europe, but which are no essential part of Catholicism, and which must needs repel the practical straightforwardness of the American character. And certainly it cannot be alleged that the objects of the late Plenary Council were not highly practical, and largely ethical. We may regret that these are shut up in so heavy a casing of mediæval armour. But this will, in America, show all the malleability there is in it.

A proposition has been lately made, however, towards the reconciliation of our ecclesiastical with our civil Christianity,

which may well give us pause. It is, that the churches shall hold themselves bound to conform their dogmas, their doctrinal statements, to the political convictions of our people. What on earth does this mean? Do the political convictions of our people rest upon a religious ground? They must, if they are to endure. Then the religious perception must have antedated its political expression. Now is that religious perception coincident with Christianity, or antagonistic to it? If the latter, then to say that the churches must conform themselves to it, is the same as to say that the churches must cease to exist. Perhaps this is what the propounder means, by a courteous indirection. Or if it is coincident with Christianity, the meaning must be, that the American State expresses more perfectly the highest conception of the gospel than the American Church, and must therefore rather fashion it than be fashioned by it. This is abstractly possible.

Assuming this, in what are we to find this higher conception of Christianity, expressed among us politically, but in arrears ecclesiastically? We are given to understand that it lies in this: politically, our highest symbol is country; religiously, king. The churches, then, must adopt country as their highest symbol of God, or they become disloyal to the nation. This is news, indeed. Because the nation, by frequent elections, submits its mortal king to the general will, therefore the church is bound to imitate the process with its heavenly King, whose authority resides in his essential perfection! This is a thought that in five hundred years has never occurred to the Swiss republicans; but as Artemus Ward has instructed us that the earth revolves on its axis subject to the Constitution of the United States, so we are now to learn that the heaven, yea, the heaven of heavens, and He on whom they depend, are to submit themselves to the authority of the sovereign people. This is, indeed, a ratification in heaven of what is enacted on earth, in such a sense as never entered the brain of mortal man before. This is as much as to say to the churches: Substitute humanity for God, or bear the consequences. The churches have but one answer to give: God, the one God, is both our country and our king. As our natures find their eternal home in Him, he is our Country: as the energy of His will realizes in

each of our fragmentary wills its part of an infinite ideal of good, He is our King. We rest on a deeper foundation than any political interests can provide, and if to account the perfection of God independent of any possible consent of men renders us disloyal, then disloyal let us be called. When human commonwealths become a set of self-worshiping seceders from God, then Christians become disloyal of course. Christianity has always been disloyal, in principle, to every human order the principle of which was not Christianity.

This requirement, that country must be substituted for king, as the symbol of God, is best explained by a doctrine of religion, which is taught by at least one eminent writer among us. It is this: God is not the principle, but the goal of creation. The consent of particular wills finally issues in a vast reservoir of being, which may be called God. God then is not the creator of men, but men are the creators of God. The requirement made of our churches, therefore, that they shall exactly invert their doctrines, is very intelligible if it rests upon the assumption that they shall exactly invert their religion. But a God who is our offspring is not the God of the churches. Their God is the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible.

This religion may not please King Demos. It once did not please King Caesar. Louis the Fourteenth was moved to suppress the worship of the Protestants, not so much because they were in schism, for he was often substantially in schism himself, as because—what was notified to them—“they had embraced a religion which displeased the king.” And it is the same old leaven, no matter in whom appearing, when we are told that the religious convictions of the churches are to accommodate themselves to the political convictions of the people. Such talk has always died down in emptiness, or proceeded to enforce itself in persecution. In France the latter result plainly impends. In America, the former is the more probable.

Such a dispute, therefore, is not a sectarian controversy between two forms of Christianity, a higher and a lower, which must be composed in order to give its full effect to the

gospel. It is a dispute between the gospel and an antagonistic power, which wishes to administer upon its estate. It is to be hoped, therefore, that all the sects which hold to the one gospel will make haste to compose their trumpery disputes, and before such an antagonist, enthroned in the high places of culture, show their faith in that Incarnate King, who, accepting His people as His subjects, proceeds to convert them into His co-regents, and converts absolute authority, without any transmutation of its nature, into the eternal principle of spontaneous self-direction.

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Andover, Mass.

ARTICLE V.—ART A PROFESSION.

THE range of study offered by legitimate art is quite without limit. In its practice, for the attainment of fame and distinction, no profession calls for more unflinching perseverance nor requires greater natural aptitude. It follows, of course, that an enduring name in its ranks is not lightly won. When, however, honorable reputation is fairly obtained, its value is always dependent on the quality of surrounding native culture. With an effort to place this thought in clearer relief, and better to define its meaning, one need only imagine Michael-Angelo driven from Rome with its eternal art atmosphere and then conceive the endless incongruities that could not fail to follow his enforced residence in a Western mining town during its early, turbulent, only-force-respecting days.

Let it here be said that the honored profession of art is too often compelled by a public both ignorant and thoughtless to patient submission under constantly recurring slights. And these are wounds that rankle and grow sensitive to the stab when the conscientious, trained, and faithful art student has to bear with flippant and careless disrespect from those who ought to know better, because of being in their own line of study ripe in experience and exceptionally well informed. These self-supposed critics appear to think that art is a more or less elegant trifle, provided and contrived for the spare moments of idle-brained recreation, and that its *raison d'être*—if it has any—is to supply gentle occupation or amusement for an indolent hour. They also appear shallow enough to believe that they themselves may attain to something of a knowledge of genuine art without competent direction, with no serious intellectual effort, with no definite aim in study, but simply by following the guidance of natural instinct.

As well expect to become an orator by memorizing columns from the spelling-book!

Such persons wholly fail to remember that the art status of a country accurately measures and records the degree of its

removal from a date long past, that Americans may call the tomahawk period; and also that the ministry alone, as a profession, can rank with art in value of social service or nobility of mission.

Reverence for art is claimed to an extent at least equal to that paid to the science of law or of medicine—and in no degree as a favor, still less as a concession, but it is insisted on as a conspicuous right.

It is to be remembered also, that given the opportunity to examine a master-piece of art, one can appropriate only such part of it as preparatory study allows, and is benefited by only such portion as mental digestion can assimilate. All the rest is lost. Because we have strong bodily eyes we do not with these vigorous organs and by an untrained as well as undeveloped natural impulse penetrate the secrets of law or of medicine and thus with Pasteur discover the mysterious origin of deadly inoculation; or with Webster explain the perplexing point in law that involves success to our case and justice to our client.

It has been well said that learning to paint is learning to see. It is also true that not every one who possesses good natural eyes has artistic sight, though few are ready to admit the fact or to believe it of themselves. Convinced that they can look at a given object as well as anyone, they therefore conclude that they see all there is to be seen. Such an eye can stare into the works of a precious chronometer that has proved itself capable of all but absolute precision in time-keeping, and although this staring eye can see the movements and the wheels which combine in the motion, no one will contend that such unskilled sight can recognize the secret of its remarkable accuracy or be able to comprehend and measure all that is clearly visible and valuable to the eye of the expert watchmaker who understands every detail of its construction and who himself made this same chronometer. Two men are before a famous picture; one of them looks through and through and up and down the canvas, takes it all in, knows where the values are preserved, where harmonies are grouped or tones happily contrasted and why, understands the drawing, color, composition, and technique. He has subtle enjoyment of cold sky reflections skillfully mingled with warmer local tones in the representation of atmosphere. It is

clear that the picture has much of interest to say to the man who has studied the language of art. Compared with such an observer as this, the impression produced on the other person is slight. It is true that the second man sees the details of drawing and color as plainly as the first, but neither tone nor line conveys any meaning to him. They might be anything else and it would be all the same; he would be entirely satisfied. If the object of the picture be simple or plain-story-telling, his attention may be attracted for a few moments while he looks as hard as he can in an effort to display remarkable penetration by a discovery of some trifling defect. He would be greatly delighted if he could find and point to the very spot where the painter had happened to place a button less on one side of a coat than on the other. In this sadly frequent style of looking at a picture and aping what he mistakes to be the province of a critic, he imagines that he is enjoying himself profoundly—like a veritable expert! Unable to appreciate fine qualities of mind or technique, and just now engrossed with ignoble search for some trivial mistake or oversight, his lack of depth may easily be read while we clearly see the familiar contraction of his art scope. And so we are again reminded that bodily eyes see little worth seeing when mental eyes are blind.

The medical man does not pretend to be expert with intricacies of law, nor does the student of law profess to understand the cause and cure of disease, yet either one or both of them would be reluctant to admit ignorance of any detail in an art matter. This delusion is less reasonable and the cause for such conduct more inexplicable when we consider that neither of these professional men would hesitate to admit that the requirements of high art are as broad, as deep, and as exacting as those of either law or medicine. Given unlimited time in a gallery of famous pictures, neither of our two experts, without study in that direction, could furnish substantial reasons for like or dislike of the contents of a single frame. And yet such observers as these are plainly men with intelligence developed beyond and above that of the average self-constituted critic. It certainly follows that by so much as their education is broader and higher are they the more likely to form an opinion supported with some actual foundation and having possible value. And

it also follows that no opinion thus formed can or ought to be competent to dispute with that of the trained professional.

The reader is invited to experiment with the first acquaintance that he meets. As proof of the statement that the average man firmly believes himself, by nature and without study, to be a capable judge and critic on any art matter, let him venture to insist that his friend does not appreciate a fine picture and is no judge of good painting. If not exactly polite, both statements are probably true, and are very likely to result in immediate and hot discussion.

Let him, who can, explain the origin of the curious and widespread fallacy!

The occasion is here accepted to sketch in an objectionable species of the genus under consideration. Gifted with fixed and irremovable belief in his own infallible judgment, as well as thorough-going confidence in personal art-omniscience independent of all study, he is sure to disapprove of every serious grapple with art-lore. Pains-taking research as well as conscientious analysis will certainly be opposed with the full strength of a scorn, not only fine, but positive and energetic. Contemptuous or flat contradiction of opinions expressed by the trained professional on strictly technical points is scarcely concealed at all or is lightly veiled by the convenient circumlocution "that is *my* opinion." Of course this dictum is accompanied with the intended, if not quite defiantly expressed inference that to differ from such authority is to be surely wrong.

It is wholly out of the question for an outsider to understand the tiresome severity or the ceaseless and endless discouragements through which the well-schooled artist has worked and struggled; nor can inexperience imagine the sting of pain or rage that follows superficial and injudicious criticisms from lips otherwise accomplished and honored—mouths little used to utter folly or display ignorance.

It is evident that no professional or other pictorial art critic is completely equipped for his work who has not studied practically the art of painting—who has not floundered in spiteful masses of pigment that *will* only result in a dirty grey—who has not visibly spilled great splashing tears, literally weeping in discouragement over a difficulty that day after day mocked his

earnest, serious efforts and refused to be conquered—who has not regretted the hour he first used brush or color-tube and has not stormily asserted that with time and application he might manage to saw wood or cobble shoes, but to learn to paint—never!

Having fought past and through serious obstacles in study, still feeling the smart of the wounds and bearing in plain sight the scars of actual service, is it then strange that veteran painters become sensitive under criticism from those who have never even enlisted—do not know the smoke of battle, and who have neither thought about nor studied the subject enough to have learned to be yet aware of the breadth and density of their ignorance. They mistake natural art taste for artistic knowledge, or an undoubted feeling for and pleasure in true art for the comprehension of its details or the understanding of its difficulties, and thus they fancy that with this unreal and unsubstantial preparation they are competent to step, *pari passu*, with the trained artist, tell him his faults of omission and of commission, criticize him *ex cathedra*, and even fluently dispute technical points which have, in the past, cost the conscientious painter much time to puzzle out and hard work to master.

It is not even desirable that we should be all gifted alike. There surely can be no disgrace in not having an ear for music or an eye for color, nor to have scant liking for the iterations of law, the potency of drug or sharpness of surgeon's knife. This same principle ought to apply to every form of art matter, but for some unaccountable reason it certainly does not. On the contrary, confessed ignorance of art and lack of breeding have grown to be considered terms synonymous.

And so, while it is true that the objectionable fact above referred to still remains unavoidable, the other consoling fact remains immovable. Thus it is that the reader is now earnestly invited to believe that when by nature, intuition, inspiration, genius, or in any other earthly way, it may be possible to attain to profound knowledge of law or of medicine without special technical study, then, in the same easy way, we may all learn to be consummate judges as well as critics in art matters, but—not till then!

F. WAYLAND FELLOWES.

UNIVERSITY TOPICS.

MATHEMATICAL CLUB.

At a meeting of the Mathematical Club, Tuesday, Oct. 16th, Mr. E. H. Moore discussed Cremona's treatment of Pascal's hexagon. Six points lying on a conic in a plane, form a figure which has many interesting properties, and which from the fact that the property first discovered and simplest was discovered by Pascal, is called Pascal's hexagon. Cremona shows that most, if not all, of these properties may be deduced from the properties of a certain relatively simple figure in three dimensions, viz: that defined by the fifteen lines which lie on a surface of the third order with a double point but do not pass through the double point.

YALE UNIVERSITY BULLETIN.

No. 67.—WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 17, 1888.

Sunday, November 11.—*Public Worship*—Battell Chapel, 10.30 A. M. Rev. Professor Brastow. *Yale Young Men's Christian Association Monthly Meeting*—Dwight Hall, 6.30 P. M. Address by Mr. Abbott.

Monday, November 12.—*Preservation of Health* (Lectures to the Divinity School)—Leonard J. Sanford, M.D. Room B, East Divinity Hall, 2 P. M. *Dwight Hall Lecture Course*—Mr. George W. Cable, on "Some Very Old Politics." Dwight Hall, 7 P. M.

Tuesday, November 13.—*Greek Readings* (The Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles)—Professor Reynolds. 194 Old Chapel, 6.45 P. M. *Methods and Books in the Study of Latin* (Lecture to the Freshman Class)—Mr. Abbott. 195 Old Chapel, 7.15–7.45 P. M.

Wednesday, November 14.—*Psychology* (University Lecture)—Professor Ladd. 194 Old Chapel, 4 P. M. *History of Old Testament Prophecy* (University Lecture)—Professor Harper. Room B, Cabinet, 5 P. M. *Semitic Club*—Paper on Assyrian Work and Workers. Room B, East Divinity Hall, 7 P. M. *Phi Beta Kappa Society Meeting*—106 North College, 8.30 P. M.

Friday, November 16.—*Berkeley Association* (Evening Prayer)—Room 89, Dwight Hall, 6.45 P. M.

Townsend Subjects, Yale College.—1. The Anti-Rent War in the State of New York. 2. The Future of the Subject Nationalities in Austro-Hungary. 3. Platonic Ideas in the Poetry of Edmund Spenser. 4. The Possibility of a Science of History. 5. The Quakers of the Seventeenth Century. 6. Giacomo Leopardi. 7. Santa Teresa : a Study in the Psychological Origin of Religious Mysticism. 8. The Industrial Side of the English Revolution of the Seventeenth Century and the Rise of the *Bourgeoisie*. 9. The Irish Vote. 10. Christian Mythology. 11. Universities as Literary Centers. 12. The Sphere of Conservatism in American Politics. Essays should be handed to Professor Beers at No. 171 Farnam Hall, on or before May 1st. Each Essay should be signed by an assumed name, and accompanied with a sealed envelope enclosing the true name of the writer.

NO. 68.—WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 24, 1888.

Sunday, November 18.—*Public Worship*—Battell Chapel, 10.30 A. M. Rev. President Dwight. *General Religious Meeting*—Dwight Hall, 6.30 P. M. Address by Mr. Taft.

Monday, November 19.—*Trade Monopolies* (Opening Lecture in the Phi Beta Kappa Course)—Professor Hadley. Linonia Hall, 6.45 P. M.

Tuesday, November 20.—*Greek Readings* (The Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles)—Professor Reynolds. 194 Old Chapel, 6.45 P. M. *Philosophical Club*—Discussion by Professor J. E. Russell, on The Philosophical Basis of the Theology of Ritschl. Room D, East Divinity Hall, 8 P. M.

Wednesday, November 21.—*Psychology* (University Lecture)—Professor Ladd. 194 Old Chapel, 4 P. M. *History of Old Testament Prophecy* (University Lecture)—Professor Harper. Room B, Cabinet, 5 P. M. *The Parentage of Greek and Latin* (Lecture to the Freshman Class)—Mr. Abbott. 194 Old Chapel, 7.15-8 P. M. *Yale Assembly*—Linonia Hall, 7.30 P. M.

Thursday, November 22.—*College Faculty Meeting*—7 Treasury Building, 7 P. M.

Friday, November 23.—*Berkeley Association* (Evening Prayer)—Room 89, Dwight Hall, 6.45 P. M.

College Compositions.—The next Junior Composition will be due at No. 2 Treasury Building on Friday, Dec. 7, before 12 M.

The Scott Prize in German, Yale College.—The examination for the Scott Prize in German, amounting to thirty dollars and open to Seniors, will be held on Monday, May 20, 1889. The subject for this year is Auerbach's *Dorfgeschichten*. It will be necessary for those taking the examination to have read carefully the most important of the *Dorfgeschichten* together with biographical and critical matter in German. Further information in regard to the nature of the work may be obtained from Mr. Goodrich and Mr. Strong.

No. 69.—WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 1, 1888.

Sunday, November 25.—*Public Worship*—Battell Chapel, 10.30 A. M. Rev. Joseph H. Twichell, of Hartford. *General Religious Meeting*—Dwight Hall, 6.30 P. M. Address by the Rev. Mr. Twichell.

Monday, November 26.—*The Parentage of Greek and Latin* (continuation of last week's Lecture to the Freshman Class)—Mr. Abbott. 194 Old Chapel, 7.15–7.45 P. M.

Tuesday, November 27.—*Greek Readings* (The Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles)—Professor Reynolds. 194 Old Chapel, 6.45 P. M. *Classical and Philological Society*—Paper by Mr. Hunt, on Wit and Humor in Homer. Room C, East Divinity Hall, 8 P. M.

Wednesday, November 28.—*Psychology* (University Lecture)—Professor Ladd. 194 Old Chapel, 4 P. M. *History of Old Testament Prophecy* (University Lecture)—Professor Harper. Room B, Cabinet, 5 P. M.

Friday, November 30.—*Berkeley Association* (Evening Prayer)—Room 89, Dwight Hall, 6.45 P. M.

Saturday, December 1.—*Last Day* for Candidates for Special Honors in College to report to the Dean.

Special Honors, Yale College.—Seniors who desire to be candidates for one-year honors, must announce their intention to the Dean, on or before Saturday, December 1.

College Compositions.—The next Junior Composition will be due at No. 2 Treasury Building on Friday, Dec. 7, before 12 M.

No. 70.—WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 8, 1888.

Sunday, December 2.—*Public Worship followed by Communion Service*—Battell Chapel, 10.30 A. M. Rev. President Dwight. *Yale Young Men's Christian Association Monthly Meeting*—Dwight Hall, 6.45 P. M. Address by Professor E. L. Richards.

Monday, December 3.—*Shakspeare from a Warwickshire Standpoint* (Lecture in the Phi Beta Kappa Course)—Rev. T. T. Munger, D.D. Linonia Hall, 7 P. M. *University Reception*—Dwight Hall, 8 to 11 P. M.

Tuesday, December 4.—*Greek Readings* (The Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles)—Professor Reynolds. 194 Old Chapel, 6.45 P. M. *Mathematical Club*—Discussion of some of the DeForest Problems of the last year, by Mr. Irving Fisher. Sloane Laboratory, 7.30 P. M. *Philosophical Club*—Paper by Mr. F. C. Porter, on Hebrew and Greek Conceptions of the Relation of Body and Soul. Room D, East Divinity Hall, 8 P. M.

Wednesday, December 5.—*Psychology* (University Lecture)—Professor Ladd. 194 Old Chapel, 4 P. M. *History of Old Testament Prophecy* (University Lecture)—Professor Harper. Room B, Cabinet, 5 P. M. *Grimm's Law* (Lecture to the Freshman Class)—Mr. Abbott. 194 Old Chapel, 7.15–7.45 P. M. *Phi Beta Kappa Society Meeting*—106 North College, 8.30 P. M.

Thursday, December 6.—*College Faculty Meeting*—7 Treasury Building, 4 P. M.

Friday, December 7.—*Junior Compositions* due at No. 2 Treasury Building, before 12 M. *Berkeley Association* (Evening Prayer)—Room 89, Dwight Hall, 6.45 P. M. *Political Science Club*—Paper by Mr. John Bennetto, on the Rise of the English Towns. 195 Old Chapel, 7.30 P. M. *University Chamber Concert*—Beethoven String Quartette. North Sheffield Hall, 8.15 P. M.

Saturday, December 8.—*College Recitations* of First Term close, 1 P. M.

University Receptions.—President and Mrs. Dwight will hold informal Receptions for the University, at Dwight Hall, on Monday evenings, December 8, February 4, March 4, April 1, May 6, and June 3, from 8 to 11 o'clock, to which all members of the University are invited.

University Chamber Concerts.—A series of six (and possibly seven, should the subscriptions warrant it) University Chamber Concerts will be given in North Sheffield Hall, beginning on Friday evening, December 7th. The series will include the Beethoven String Quartette of New York, the Kneisel Quartette of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, an evening of Trios (pianos, violin, and cello) and Sonatas, and a Song Recital by Max Heinrich of New York. Admission *only* by subscription tickets, \$2.00 for the series, which can be obtained at the Treasury.

NO. 71.—WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 15, 1888.

Sunday, December 9.—*Public Worship*—Battell Chapel 10.30 A. M. Rev. George Alexander, D. D., of New York City. *General Religious Meeting*—Dwight Hall, 6.30 P. M. Address by the Rev. Dr. Alexander.

Monday, December 10.—*Dwight Hall Lecture Course*—Rev. A. F. Schauffer, D. D., of New York City, on Ruin through Neglect. Dwight Hall, 6.45 P. M.

Wednesday, December 12.—*Psychology* (University Lecture)—Professor Ladd. 194 Old Chapel, 4 P. M. *History of Old Testament Prophecy* (University Lecture)—Professor Harper. Room B, Cabinet, 5 P. M. *Semitic Club*—Paper by Mr. G. W. Davis, on Old Babylonia; its History and Civilization. Professor Harper's residence, 135 College st., 7 P. M. *Yale Assembly*—Debate on the Policy of the Government in reference to Immigration. Linonia Hall, 7.30 A. M.

Friday, December 14.—*Berkeley Association* (Evening Prayer)—Room 89, Dwight Hall, 6.45 P. M.

Saturday, December 8.—*Last Day* for returning books to Linonian and Brothers Library, 10 A. M. to 12 M., and 1.30 to 4 P. M.

Annual Catalogue.—The Annual Catalogue of the University for 1888-89 will be on sale at the Treasurer's Office on Tuesday, December 11. Price, 25 cents, or by mail 30 cents. (Circulars of the various departments are furnished separately without charge.)

Library Notice.—All books belonging to the Linonian and Brothers Library must be returned on or before Saturday, December 15.

CURRENT LITERATURE.

SILL'S POEMS.*—This little white book, spiritual in its very leaf and cover, stands among the volumes of contemporary verse like *Una* among the *Naiades*: there we may see prettiness, beauty perhaps, amid the enchantments of wood and field, but here is celestial truth and purity. For all our love for Shelley or Chatterton, we treat their books as books, but one cannot yet have the heart to crowd Sill's poems into the dusty shelves. If now and then a poet sent us his gift from

"the mild and serene air
Above the smoke and stir of this dim spot
Which men call earth,"

it might be something like this. There is a divine strength in its high thought and manliness. We read through the poems to "review" them; thinking backward, they rise like spirits before us, still in unsullied white; if any commonplace criticisms could have been once whispered they are silenced. The book is a collection of short pieces, perhaps with no intentional connection between them, but one closes it feeling that he has read a tragedy. How much of

"Fresh hope upon me every amber dawn,
New peace when evening's violet veil is drawn,"

in its opening vision:

"There fell a vision to Praxiteles:
Watching thro' drowsy lids the loitering seas
That lay caressing with white arms of foam
The sleeping marge of his Ionian home,
He saw great Aphrodite standing near,
Knew her, at last, the Beautiful he had sought
With life-long passion, and in love and fear
Into unsullied stone the vision wrought."

* *Poems* by EDWARD ROWLAND SILL [Class Poet of Yale, '61]. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1888.

But a premonition like the haunting motive of the composer, running through page after page, brings us to these poems :

“TRUTH AT LAST.

“Does a man ever give up hope, I wonder,—
Face the grim fact, seeing it clear as day ?
When Bennen saw the snow-slip, heard its thunder
Low, louder, roaring round him, felt the speed
Grow swifter as the avalanche hurled downward,
Did he for just one heart-throb—did he indeed
Know with all certainty, as they swept onward,
There was the end, where the crag dropped away ?
Or did he think, even till they plunged and fell,
Some miracle would stop them ? Nay, they tell
That he turned round, face forward, calm and pale,
Stretching his arms out toward his native vale
As if in mute, unspeakable farewell,
And so went down.—’Tis something, if at last,
Though only for a flash, a man may see
Clear-eyed the future, as he sees the past,
From doubt, or fear, or hope’s illusion free.”

“QUEM METUI MORITURA ?

“What need have I to fear—so soon to die ?
Let me work on, not watch and wait in dread :
What will it matter, when that I am dead,
That they bore hate or love who near me lie ?
’Tis but a life-time, and the end is nigh
At best or worst. Let me lift up my head
And firmly, as with inner courage, tread
Mine own appointed way, on mandates high.
Pain could but bring, from all its evil store,
The close of pain : hate’s venom could not kill ;
Repulse, defeat, desertion, could no more.
Let me have lived my life, not cowered until
The unhindered and unhastened hour was here.
So soon—what is there in the world to fear ?”

“A MORNING THOUGHT.

“What if some morning, when the stars were paling,
And the dawn whitened, and the east was clear,
Strange peace and rest fell on me from the presence
Of a benignant spirit standing near :

And I should tell him, as he stood beside me,
‘This is our Earth—most friendly Earth and fair ;
Daily its sea and shore through sun and shadow
Faithful it turns, robed in its azure air :

' There is blest living here, loving and serving,
And quest of truth, and serene friendship dear ;
But stay not, Spirit ! Earth has one destroyer—
His name is Death : flee, lest he find thee here !'

And what if then, while the still morning brightened,
And freshened in the elm the summer's breath,
Should gravely smile on me the gentle angel
And take my hand and say, ' My name is Death.' "

ERNEST WHITNEY.

THE GERMANIC CONSTITUTION.*—The author of this sketch of the Germanic Constitution is favorably known by his scholarly version of Eginhard's Life of Charlemagne, published some eight years ago in Harper's Half-Hour Series. The present work is a valuable contribution to the sources of information about the old Empire. Outside of the manual histories of Germany, there is very little of first-rate value in English on the subject. Mr. Bryce's interesting and stimulating "Holy Roman Empire" leaves little to be desired on the theoretical and philosophic side of the imperial history, but as it is not a constitutional history the details of the constitutional organization are rather meager. Our grandfathers had Pütter's "Historical Development of the Present Political Constitution of the Germanic Empire" (translated by Dornford, 3 vols. London, 1790), which is still useful for later imperial history, but of course antiquated in many points. Mr. Turner has supplied at once a very concise and convenient summary of German Constitutional history and a useful introduction to the more elaborate German works. He has relied upon the most recent and trustworthy investigators. Not simply that, but his references to the best documentary sources give one the assurance that his conclusions are based in some measure on first-hand study. To some the extreme conciseness of the book will appear one of its chief merits, but we wish it had been at least twice as long. Probably a larger work would have cost the author no more trouble.

On page 42, in reference to the growth of the feudal system, through the increasing power of the Seniors, Mr. Turner says: "They consulted their dignity as well as their safety by having nu-

* *A Sketch of the Germanic Constitution. From the Earliest Times to the Dissolution of the Empire.* By SAMUEL EPES TURNER, Ph.D. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. pp. x., 185.

merous vassals, and granted their lands as benefices in consideration of military service. They had no difficulty in finding men to serve after the revolution wrought in the methods of warfare by the general use of cavalry, for so much money was required to purchase a horse and other equipments, and such long training was needed to become an efficient cavalryman that cavalry service was soon reckoned an honorable profession." There is another side to this social change toward feudalism which deserves attention. The obligation of military service in response to the royal summons became so burdensome to the small freemen, both on account of the loss of time and of the expense for horses and swords that it greatly promoted the growth of the feudal system and the extinction of the class of small freemen by commendation to the lords. By this means they escaped the royal service at the cost of their freedom, and into a position where they reinforced the lords. Mr. Turner makes of necessity such frequent use of the word "assessor" that it would have been well to explain briefly the functions of the assessor. They can hardly be familiar to those who will use his book as an introduction to the German Constitution. A full list of kings and emperors with their exact style, the dates of coronation as kings and as emperors, with the dates of birth and death, would form a valuable appendix, and we hope it may be added in a second edition. The use of the word "Grave" for count as a translation of "Graf" will perhaps be questioned. It is certainly very unfamiliar in spite of the obvious analogy to Palsgrave and Margrave. We have found the word only in Skinner's "*Etymologicon Linguae Anglicanae*" (London, 1670), and in Wright's "*Dictionary of Obsolete and Provincial English*," where it is given as a Yorkshire word for bailiff and also as Dutch, meaning a nobleman of the Low Countries. So that it is not a coinage but a revival of an old word which would appear to have been well dead and buried. Such revivals are worth while when the language is enriched or strengthened, but whether Grave can be restored to use in competition with the familiar and equivalent "Count," against which it once utterly failed to hold its own, is open to much doubt.

We noticed one or two misprints, p. 21, *Deutche* for *Deutsche*, p. 68, *Lehurecht* for *Lehnrecht*, and p. 179, note 2, 1806 for 1804 as the date when the title Emperor of Austria was assumed. It

seems to us that on p. 123 and 133, "Emperor" would be more exact than "King," and also that the use of "rachineburgii" for "rachimburgii" is a needless if not an affected deviation from the ordinary form. Mr. Turner's work may be warmly commended to teachers and students as a thoroughly scholarly production.

EDWARD G. BOURNE.

THE ART AMATEUR for December furnishes a criticism of the paintings of the Russian historical painter—Vassili Verestchagin—who is now exhibiting a large collection of his pictures at the American Art Galleries in 23rd St., New York City. Verestchagin is one of those painters who uses Art for a purpose. He seeks by representations addressed to the eye to impress the spectator with the views which he has adopted with regard to the political and social problems of the day. For instance, as a soldier in the Russo-Turkish war, he had been a witness of all the horrors of war and had been convinced that it is neither more or less than wholesale murder. As an artist, therefore, he has sought to use his art to teach those who have never left their comfortable homes what war really is in all its revolting aspects. Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer, in the *Independent*, says that in some of the German cities "soldiers were forbidden by the authorities to visit his exhibition, lest, in military phrase, they should be demoralized by the horrors it revealed." The *Art Amateur* gives an illustration of one of these pictures, "General Skobeleff at Shipka," which it declares to be even more truly "a polemic against war than a military picture." We will quote a few paragraphs from its criticisms. "The interest centres in the foreground, littered with dead and dying soldiers. The general and his galloping staff and the troops cheering and rejoicing over their victory are but an incident in it, less impressive than the frozen mountains that loom up in the background. A bitter feeling against the leaders and the governing classes, who, in the artist's opinion, are the cause of wars and the misery which accompanies them, is visible everywhere."

"The oblong canvas which is entitled 'The Emperor Alexander II, before Plevna,' is occupied in the foreground by the broken slope of a hill, on the summit of which, at the extreme right of the picture, is seen the emperor, in a comfortable chair, watching from a safe distance the progress of the attack ordered

in honor of his birth day, although the roads were thick with mud and the commander-in-chief had exclaimed that it was impossible for the men to advance. Thick clouds of smoke fill the valley between this position and the Turkish redoubts. The officers surrounding his Majesty, peering through them with their field-glasses, see that the Russian ranks are broken, that they run and that the day is lost. A companion picture shows somewhat of the result of the battle, 18,000 wounded men, and provision for 3,000 only."

But these great historical war pictures form only a part of this remarkable collection. Verestchagin has traveled in India, and has sought to illustrate the history of the career of the English in that country. The picture, which bears the title of "The Entry of the Prince of Wales into Delhi," is a marvel, it is so resplendent with color. The Prince is seated in his howdah on the back of an elephant gorgeously caparisoned. Groups of Indian officers and dignitaries in flowing costumes of red and white, and bedecked with gold and jewels, surround him. The white marble walls and cupolas of the palace form the background. The most ordinary sketches appear to have been made with some ulterior motive. A study of a "Russian Copper-smith" is entered in the catalogue with the note, "he has made cockades all his life."

It is to be remembered that the *Art Amateur* is a *practical* magazine, especially devoted to "Art in the Household." Among the subjects to which especial prominence is given are china painting; decorative flower painting; the processes of photogravure; crayon drawing; etching; tapestry painting; miniature painting; home decoration; furniture; brass hammering; embroidery. By those who have ever seen the magazine it is safe to say that it is regarded as invaluable. [Price, per year, \$4; 35 cents a number. Montague Marks, 23 Union Square. The first number of the new volume for 1889, begins with December, 1888. To those who subscribe for 1889, before the first day of January, the numbers for the last three months of 1888, including four extra colored plates, will be sent without further charge.]

MAGAZINE OF ART for December.—If the "Art Amateur" is all-important for those who are practically interested in "Art in the Household," the *Magazine of Art* is no less important for

every one who would keep up an acquaintance with what is doing in the great world of Art in all the different civilized nations. In the first number (Dec.) of the new volume for 1889, is a full page engraving of a picture of Meissonier. There is also a full page engraving of a painting by Solomon J. Solomon of "Samson," recently presented to the "Walker Art Gallery" in Liverpool. There are engravings also of paintings by Sir J. E. Millais, Phil. R. Morris, John Philip, and J. C. Dollman, and four engravings of recent works in marble by Alfred Gilbert, A. R. A. A chapter on "the portraits of Dante Gabriel Rossetti" is illustrated by five engravings—one representing the artist as he was at the age of six, and another as he was at the age of eighteen. An article on "Wells and its Cathedral" is also especially interesting, and it is illustrated by five engravings. In every number are "art criticisms" and discussions of questions connected with art, written by persons who are considered to be authorities in matters of the kind. In the "Monthly Record of American Art" for the December number, a criticism of the paintings in the Lenox Library in New York, is given. [Cassell & Company, Limited; 104 and 106 Fourth avenue. Yearly subscription, \$3.50; single number 35 cents.]

NEW PUBLICATIONS.—Among important recent publications which our limits will prevent our noticing, but of which Reviews may be soon expected. We will mention:

Delia Bacon. A biographical sketch. By THEODORE BACON. 8vo, pp. 322. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Boston.

The Life and Letters of Samuel Wells Williams, LL.D. Missionary, Diplomatist, Sinologue. By his son FREDERICK WELLS WILLIAMS. 8vo, pp. 490. G. P. Putnam's Sons. New York.

The Life of Young Sir Harry Vane. Governor of Massachusetts Bay, and Leader of the Long Parliament; with a consideration of the English Commonwealth as a Forecast of America. By JAMES K. HOSMER. 8vo, pp. 581. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Boston.

The Pilgrim Republic. An Historical Review of the Colony of New Plymouth, with sketches of the Rise of other New England Settlements, the history of Congregationalism, and the Creeds of the Period. By JOHN A. GOODWIN, Boston. Ticknor & Co. 8vo, pp. 662.



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